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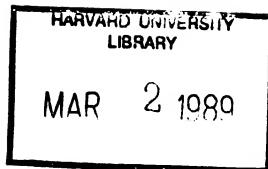
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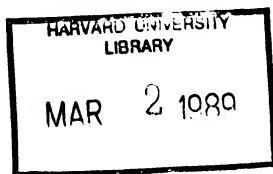
MESOPOTAMIA AND PERSIA  
UNDER THE MONGOLS,  
IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY A.D.

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*From the NUZHAT-AL-KULŪB of Hamd-Allah Mustawfi.*

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BY  
G. LE STRANGE.



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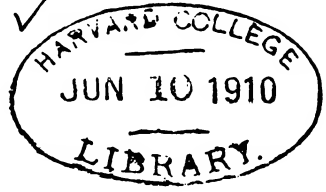
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## PREFACE.

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THE Council of the Royal Asiatic Society having decided to republish the present paper separately, as one of the Asiatic Monographs, a new Map has been drawn on a larger scale than the one given in the *Journal* for January, 1902 (p. 73), where the names were found to be indistinctly written. I may take this opportunity of adding a few corrections which have come to notice since the paper was first printed, in addition to those given below on page 115 (p. 766 of the *Journal*), the first of which (on the Urmiah Lake) refers to p. 38, note 1, of the present pagination.

In chapter 7, describing Rūm (p. 48, line 28, and p. 259 of the *Journal*), the Castle of Awnik will be found marked, to the east of Erzerum, on the great Map of Armenia drawn by Mr. H. F. B. Lynch. On the same page (two lines from below) *Zūbarkī* should be Divrigī (i.e. Tephrike, the Paulician capital); and for *Dhūlū* Davalū is the true reading, a place situated a few miles south-east of Kaysariyah; these places are frequently mentioned by Ibn Bībī, an historian recently edited by Professor Houtsma, whom I have to thank for these and other corrections that he has been good enough to send me. Kāb or Gāb (p. 49, eight lines from below, and p. 260 of the *Journal*), not *Kāt*, is the true reading, as given in Ibn Bībī, and it lay between Tūkāt and Zilah. Zamandū (p. 50, line 10, and p. 261 of the *Journal*) is mentioned by Yākūt and Ibn Bībī and in the Tzamandos



of the Byzantines ; Kadūk (not *Kadūl*) is the modern Geduk to the east of Kaṣṣariyah ; Tūz Aghāch (not *Tūr Aghāch* or *Tamar Aghāch*) is also given in Ibn Bibī, and lay near Kīr Shahr in the Salt District.

In chapter 14, describing Kirmān, the correction for the position of Sirjān (p. 76, three lines from below, and p. 530 of the *Journal*) has already been given on p. 115 (p. 766). Shākhīn, not *Sākhīs*, etc. (p. 81, line 5, and p. 535 of the *Journal*), is the true reading as given by Major Sykes. It lay south of Kāyin (*Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 406). The position of Ṭabas Masīnān (p. 81, line 17) can now be fixed, for the place was visited by Major Sykes (*loc. cit.*, p. 397). It lies about fifty miles east of Birjand ; it is still known by the old name, but is now surnamed, from being mostly inhabited by Sunnis, Ṭabas Sunnī-Khānah.

In chapter 17, on Khurāsān, it may be mentioned that the Amīr Chūpān (p. 83, line 26, and p. 734 of the *Journal*) was the celebrated Regent of Mongol Persia after the death of Uljaytū, during the minority of Sultān Abu Saʿīd. Further, a stupid mistake must be rectified, where, on p. 86, line 10 (and p. 737 of the *Journal*), Ḥakīm Burkāʿī (as the name should be read) is the well-known veiled Prophet of Khursārān, and the line following should stand thus :—"had lived, who was known as the Moon-maker (Sāzandah-Māh) of Nakhshab, in Transoxiana" (cf. *Literary History of Persia*, by E. G. Browne, p. 319).

In the Itineraries a few corrections may be noticed. In Route III (p. 99, line 4 ff. ; p. 750 of the *Journal*) the stages are in wrong order. We should read :—"from Farāshah to the Nil Canal in 7 farsakhs, passing . . . Kūthā Rabbū . . . to the left of the road ; then, with the city of Būbil lying . . . on the right hand, in 2 farsakhs to the city of Hillah. Thence it is 7 farsakhs

to the city of Kūfah," etc. And as regards Farāshah, this place is mentioned by Ibn Jubay (*Text*, p. 217), who passed it on his road north to Baghdād. In Route XVIII (p. 106, line 23, and p. 757 of the *Journal*) the town in Bādghis given as *Tūn* should be read Bawan, otherwise called Babnah, as given by Yākūt, i, 764. In Route XIX the latter part should be corrected from Professor De Goeje's translation of the Turkish text (p. 347) of the *Jihān Numā*, given in his work *Das alte Bett des Oxus* (p. 112). We should read: "Hazārasp 9 farsakhs to Dih Azrak (Blue village), thence 7 to Rākhushmīthan, thence 6 to Andarastān, thence 2 to the city of Nuzwār, and then 6 to Urganj." Finally, in Route XXVIII (p. 111, line 17 and five lines from below, and p. 762 of the *Journal*), "the city of Şaj," which lay between Shīrāz and the coast, opposite Kays Island, may very likely be identical with the town of Jamm mentioned by Iṣṭakhri (*Text*, p. 106), who writes that of the Sīrāf District there were three chief cities, "to wit, Sīrāf, Najīram, and Jamm," but no mention of this place appears, as far as is known, in any other geographer.

In regard to the new Map, some places have had still to be marked by numbers, and the names of these must be sought, according to their Provinces, in the lists given on pages 25 and 26 (*Journal*, pp. 73, 74).

G. LE S.

November, 1903.



## PERSIA UNDER THE MONGOLS.

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It is very generally a matter of complaint that the lithographed editions of Persian and Arabic works published in the East are, for the most part, unprovided with any index or full table of contents; and, further, that when the book treats of geography or history, the proper names of both persons and places are too often given in a manner that at first sight defies identification. Half a loaf, however, is proverbially better than no bread, and, until from some quarter funds are forthcoming to defray the cost of printing Persian texts in Europe, scholars would often be able to make use of the editions lithographed in India or elsewhere, if the true reading of the proper names were fixed by a collation of the best manuscripts, and if a full table of contents were available for purposes of reference. In many cases also a Persian work will only contain one part, or a series of chapters, that pre-eminently is of interest to Western scholars: and the remark, of course, applies more especially to the *Cosmographies* where the geographical chapters alone are of first-rate importance, as also to those numerous *Universal Histories* where only the concluding sections, dealing with the author's own time, can in any way be considered as of primary authority. An instance in point is, I consider, the cosmographical work of Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfī, which forms the subject of the present article, and of which a lithographed edition appeared in Bombay in 1894 (A.H. 1311) under the editorship of Mīrzā Mahdī Shīrāzī, being published by Mīrzā Muḥammad Shīrāzī, surnamed Malik-al-Kuttāb, or the Chief of the Scriveners.

Hamd-Allah Mustawfī and his two principal works—the history called the *Tārīkh-i-Guzidah*, and the *Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb*, which last is now under discussion—were fully noticed by Mr. E. G. Browne in this Journal in a paper on “The Sources of Dawlatshāh” (J.R.A.S. for January, 1899), and more recently (October, 1900) he has given us a translation of the section on the “Biographies of the Persian Poets” from the *Guzidah*, with a detailed account of the contents of that historical work, of which he hopes later on to publish an edition of the Persian text. As a complement and commentary to the *Guzidah*, the geographical part of the *Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb* is of considerable importance. Further, and from the point of view of historical geography, it is of special interest, since it gives us a detailed description of Persia in the age immediately succeeding that of the travels of Marco Polo. The first half of the fourteenth century A.D. may indeed be regarded as a turning-point in the history of Western Asia, being a period of comparative calm coming between the epoch-marking conquests of the Mongols under Changhīz Khān and the no less revolutionary period of conquest by Timur. From a geographical point of view it was a time of transition. Before this we have the lands of Islām under the Abbasid Caliphs, as described by the Arab geographers Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Ḥawḳal, and Muḳaddasī; after this there is Western Asia, as shown on our present maps, which last may be held to date from the changes effected by the conquests of Timur and the subsequent partition of his empire among his descendants and successors.

Nearly forty years ago Monsieur Barbier de Meynard (now director of the *École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* in Paris) gave us the translation of the greater part of the geographical section of the *Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb* in the notes to his well-known *Dictionnaire de la Perse*,<sup>1</sup> which is based on the geographical encyclopædia of Yāḳūt. To the information contained in this book I must express my great indebtedness, and I may take the occasion of bearing witness to the

<sup>1</sup> Small 4to. Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1861.

admirable accuracy of Monsieur B. de Meynard's work, which, it should be remembered, had to be entirely based on *manuscript* material, being translated directly from the Paris MSS. of the *Mu'jam-ul-Buldān*. Since 1861 the whole text of Yāqūt has been edited by Professor Wüstenfeld; also, in his *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, Professor de Goeje has now given us admirable editions of nearly all the earlier Arab geographers: it is therefore very easy to verify, by a reference to the texts, the translations given by Monsieur B. de Meynard; and it will be remembered that the *Dictionnaire de la Perse* is still the only portion of Yāqūt's great Encyclopædia of which a complete translation exists in any European language. Seeing, therefore, that we have here a translation of all the longer articles in the *Nuzhat* which treat of the towns described by Ḥamd-Allah, I shall only attempt in this paper to complete his lists of names, referring my readers to the pages of the *Dictionnaire de la Perse* for all further information in detail. My arrangement of the materials will, however, be somewhat different, for the *Dictionnaire de la Perse* being set in alphabetical order, no account is taken of the enumeration of the places as grouped by Ḥamd-Allah under the various provinces, and this arrangement, for the elucidation of the historical geography of the period, is, I deem, of much importance. Then, again, Monsieur B. de Meynard, as he acknowledges in his preface,<sup>1</sup> has made no attempt to identify the sites of places mentioned by Ḥamd-Allah, as, indeed, this was inevitable forty years ago, for our maps of Persia were then in many parts a blank. Since that time, however, a host of travellers and explorers have filled in the names, and at the present day most part of the great plateau of Īrān has been explored. I need only mention the numerous excellent maps published by General Houtum

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., Préface, p. xx: "Les questions si délicates de topographie ancienne ne peuvent être abordées avec sûreté qu'après l'étude préalable des documents indigènes. J'espère qu'il me sera donné un jour de travailler à la solution de ce difficile problème, au moins, en ce qui touche la Perse: aujourd'hui je l'ai écarté de propos délibéré."

Schindler in the Berlin *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, and the maps given by Monsieur J. de Morgan in his *Mission Scientifique en Perse*—which last is still in course of publication—as instances of completed surveys of the individual provinces under investigation; while in the numerous papers devoted to Persia contained in recent volumes of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society I have found much to aid me in the identification of ancient with modern sites. My mainstay, however, has been the great Map of Persia, in six sheets, on the scale of sixteen miles to the inch, published by the War Office Intelligence Department in 1886.

For the true spelling of the place-names<sup>1</sup> I have had recourse to the systematic Itineraries given by Ibn Khurdābih and Qudāmah, supplemented by the detail of routes found in the works of Ya'qūbī, Ibn Rustah, Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Hawkal, and Muḥaddasī, all of which date from the middle of the third to the last quarter of the fourth century A.H. (ninth and tenth centuries A.D.). These mediæval Arab Road-books have enabled me to correct, and hence profit by, the very full Itinerary which Ḥamd-Allah himself gives at the close of his description of Īrān. This Persian Itinerary is now published for the first time, and it has made the location of a number of mediæval towns and districts possible, all traces of which have long since disappeared from the modern map. As an instance I may mention the Mint-city of Sābūrkhwāst in Luristān, which Ḥamd-Allah shows to be *not* the modern Khurramābād, as has often been supposed; then some important details are given about Sīrjān, the capital of Kirmān, and about Old Hurmuz; and we are now enabled to fix approximately by these Persian Itineraries the positions of many lost towns such as Tālīkān and Faryāb of south-eastern Khurāsān; also Kāghaz-Kunān and Bajarvān,

<sup>1</sup> The spelling of Persian place-names is far from being consistent. The Persian for 'village,' now written and pronounced *Dih* (vowel short), is generally in the MSS. written *Dih*, with the vowel long. Other common variations are Iṣfahān or Isfahān, Hūrmūz or Hurmuz, Tīhrān or Tīhrān, Qūhistān or Kūhistān.

once important cities on the great northern high road from Adharbayjān towards the Caucasus frontier, besides many villages and post-stations.

On the vexed question of the lower course of the Oxus during the middle ages, and its outflow into the Caspian, Ḥamd-Allah has important information to give. The detailed account of the provinces into which Persia in his day was divided shows, by a comparison with the provincial frontiers as given by the Arab geographers of Abbasid times, the changes effected by the Mongol conquest, and the later administration of the Īl-Khāns, who built Sulṭānīyah in Persian 'Irāk to be their capital, and to take the place of Baghdād as the Metropolis of Western Asia—Mesopotamia being henceforth counted as merely a province of Persia. The most notable change in the political map of Īrān is the formation of the new province of Kurdistān, which was taken from the western half of the Arab province of Jibāl (Media), the remaining, or eastern, portion of the older Jibāl province now coming to be more generally known as Persian 'Irāk. Then, again, all the Yazd district, which had formerly been counted as of Fārs, was now given to Persian 'Irāk, thus, in compensation for Kurdistān, which had been taken away, enlarging the older frontier of the Jibāl to the eastward, and so rounding off what was now the central province of Īrān under the administration of the Īl-Khāns. Lastly, on the Persian Gulf region, Ḥamd-Allah divides off Shabānkārah from the south-eastern part of Fārs, making of Shabānkārah a separate province, of which the ancient Dārābjird and Lār (a town unknown to the earlier geographers) were the chief centres of population.

Ḥamd-Allah personally was well fitted thus to describe Īrān, for there is evidence that he had himself travelled over the greater part of the country. In the matter of frontiers and capital cities he was trained in office-work connected with the taxation of the provinces; being one who held by inheritance the post of Mustawfi or Accountant-general, this post having been in his family since the days of his great-grandfather, who was superintendent of the



finances of 'Irāk in Abbasid times, before the first Mongol invasion. Ḥamd-Allah himself had served under Rashīd-ad-Dīn (the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Rashidī*, published in part by E. Quatremère), the celebrated minister of Ghāzān Khān, and the present description of Persia and Mesopotamia, though completed in 740 (1340 A.D.), may be taken to represent the country as it existed under the government of that Īl-Khān and his successors Uljaytū and Abu-Sa'īd (brother and nephew of Ghāzān) in whose service Ḥamd-Allah held the office of Mustawfī.

At the head of most of the chapters describing each province of the Īlkhānid empire in Persia and Mesopotamia Ḥamd-Allah has given the sum of the provincial revenue paid in his own time. These figures may be best summarized in a note,<sup>1</sup> and they are of interest as showing the financial condition of Persia under the Īl-Khāns. It must, however, be observed that Mustawfī very frequently also gives, under the separate articles, the state-revenues derived from the towns; hence the sums given in our footnote probably should not be held to represent the sum-total of the provincial taxes, for, while it is nowhere clearly stated whether or not these individual sums formed part of the aggregate, the revenues of all the chief towns are not given. From the point of view of Numismatics an interest lies in the statement repeated many times by Mustawfī (L. 133*d*, 170*j*, etc.) that in his day the currency-dīnār (*Dīnār-i-Rāij*), which was used in all accounts, a gold coin that possibly was only nominal (or but seldom coined), was reckoned to be worth six (silver) dirhams of the Abbasids;

<sup>1</sup> Reckoned in currency-dīnārs (four of these being about equivalent to the pound sterling), and in the year 35 of the Īlkhānī Era (A.D. 1335), Arabian 'Irāk paid 3,000,000 dīnārs; Rūm (Asia Minor), 3,300,000; Armenia, 390,000; Upper Mesopotamia, 1½ million dīnārs; Kurdistān, 201,500; Khūzistān, 325,000; Fārs, 2,871,200; Shabānkārah, 266,100; and Kirmān, 676,500 dīnārs. The list of provinces, it will be observed, is not complete. Mustawfī further, in many cases, records the revenues of former periods, notably for Saljūk times during the later centuries of the Abbasid Caliphate, but these seem hardly worth tabulating, for the sums mentioned are not likely to be very reliable.

hence, as already said in our footnote, four of these currency-dīnārs were about equal in value to one pound sterling.

The present paper, it will be seen, only attempts the summary of Part II in the Third Book of the *Nuzhat*, and of this all that is now here given is the corrected list of the names of places, with the reference to the pages of the lithographed edition, and to the authority responsible for the true reading of the name. An attempt also has been made in every case to identify the site, or the fact is stated when the position is unknown.

The text as found in the Bombay Lithograph has been edited with almost incredible carelessness. The place-names heading each article are written indifferently with or without diacritical points, hence very often these names are perfectly illegible. Towns of a somewhat similar name in the written character, but quite well known, and, in point of fact, occupying different provinces—such, for example, as *Ardabil* in Adharbayjān and *Irbīl* in Upper Mesopotamia—are as a rule here systematically confounded one with the other, and a place like Tawwaj, the celebrated commercial emporium of Fārs in the earlier middle ages, appears in the Bombay text as Nūḥ, that is to say, Noah. Similarly absurd mistakes recur again and again, as, for instance, where our author, speaking of the rivers of Persia (which for the most part do not find their exit to the sea), describes each in turn as “flowing out or becoming lost in the Desert (*Mafāzah*),” for which the Bombay edition invariably has the statement that the river becomes “lost in a cave (*Maghārah*),” the excuse for which nonsense being that in the Arabic character there is a similarity between *Maghārah* and *Mafāzah* by a change of diacritical points.

For obtaining a correct text, I have collated (more or less completely) eight of the best MSS. found in the British Museum, also the six MSS. of the Bodleian at Oxford, and two MSS. belonging to the University Library at Cambridge. For Chapter 12, describing the province of Fārs, I have been able to get the true readings for a number of place-names, not given by Iṣṭakhrī or the other Arab geographers,

by collating the MS. of the *Fārs Nāmāh* recently acquired by the British Museum. This is a Persian work on history and geography written in the first years of the sixth century A.H. (the twelfth A.D.) by a certain Ibn-al-Balkhī who flourished at the court of the Saljūq Sultān Muḥammad, surnamed Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn, son of Malik Shāh; the exact date of the writing of the *Fārs Nāmāh* does not appear to be mentioned in the MS., but the writer's patron (whom he mentions as still reigning) succeeded in 498 (1104 A.D.) and ruled till 511 (A.D. 1117), which fixes the period within narrow limits.

I have also made use of another unique MS. which the British Museum possesses, namely, the unnamed geography which is attributed to Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, the Secretary of Timur. This work, which was written in 820 A.H. (1417 A.D.), copies a good deal from the *Nuzhat*, but adds at times geographical details not given by Ḥamd-Allah. For instance, there are in this work some important passages which throw light on the vexed question of the course taken by the Oxus during the middle ages (these will be given in the notes to Chapter 17 on Khurāsān); and it is worthy of remark that Ḥāfiẓ Abrū himself appears to have travelled far and wide through the broad empire of Timur, so that much of his information is that of an eye-witness, and comes to us at first-hand.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The British Museum MS. of the *Fārs Nāmāh* is that numbered Or. 5,983; the work by Ḥāfiẓ Abrū is that numbered Or. 1,577; and this last is described in vol. i, p. 421, of the *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, by Dr. Rien. The British Museum MSS. of the *Nuzhat* that I have used are those numbered Add. 7,708, 7,709, 7,710, 16,735, 16,736, 16,737, 23,543, and 23,544 (cf. op. cit., p. 418). The Oxford MSS. are those numbered 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, and 411 in the *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts* edited by Messrs. Ethé and Sachau. The two Cambridge MSS. are those given under the numbers Add. 2,624 and 3,146; these are described on pp. 201, 202 of the Cambridge Persian Catalogue written by Mr. E. G. Browne. The two Cambridge MSS. I had the very great convenience of collating at my London lodgings in June and July, 1900, for, with exceptional generosity, the authorities of that University consented to grant these MSS. to me on loan, Mr. E. G. Browne giving security for their safe return. I must take this occasion of rendering him my thanks for this friendly action in my behalf; to the Vice-Chancellor, and to Mr. Jenkinson, the Librarian of the University Library, also I feel very deeply indebted for the loan. For the *Fārs Nāmāh* MS. I must express my thanks to Mr. A. G. Ellis, of the British Museum, who drew my attention to this new acquisition.

The *Zufar Nāmah*, describing the campaigns of Timur, written by 'Alī of Yazd (and translated at the beginning of the last century into French by Petis de la Croix),<sup>1</sup> has been of use in identifying some of the place-names given in the *Nuzhat*, and often the position of places is roughly indicated by a reference to the marches of Timur, and this enables us to identify the sites of lost towns. A work which also seemed to promise much help is the well-known geography called the *Jihān Numā*, compiled by the great bibliographer Ḥājī Khalfah in Turkish at the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. Ḥājī Khalfah repeatedly quotes the *Nuzhat*, and, as he evidently had excellent MSS. to work from, his readings of the place-names are valuable. Unfortunately, however, like all Oriental writers he is entirely uncritical. In the eastern regions, which lie beyond his personal ken, he inserts descriptions of Sīrjān (in Kirmān), Zaranj (in Sīstān), and Arrajān (in Fārs), as though all these cities still existed in his day, when we know from history that, as a fact, the two former towns were destroyed by Timur, while Arrajān even before the time of Timur had been replaced by Bihbahān, which is the present existing town, of which place, however, Ḥājī Khalfah makes absolutely no mention. Then, again, with no mark of the borrowing, Ḥājī Khalfah frequently makes mention of towns, giving the sums of revenue due from each (e.g. Salam and 'Ayn in Armenia); but in most cases these appear to be simply paragraphs taken over bodily from the *Nuzhat*, and the sums for the taxes are those already given by Mustawfi, writing under the Īlkhānid administration three centuries before the time when the *Jihān Numā* was compiled.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In quoting the spelling of names, the references are to the edition of the Persian text of the *Zufar Nāmah* published in the series of the Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta, 1887). The French translation, called *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, was printed in four volumes 12mo, Paris, 1722.

<sup>2</sup> The Turkish text of the *Jihān Numā* (to which my quotations refer) was printed in Constantinople A.H. 1145 (1732) by Ibrāhīm Efendi, and a Latin translation of this work was made by M. Norberg, and published in 1818 at Londini Gothorum (Lund, in two volumes; but the place-names in this translation are not, as a rule, spelt correctly.

In conclusion of these preliminary notes, I may remark that for the true reading of the place-names I have relied far more on the authority of Yākūt, supplemented by the older Arab geographers (the texts, namely, in the eight volumes of the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* of De Goeje) and our present maps, than on the readings in the diverse MSS. of the *Nuzhat*, which last are often incredibly incorrect, from the carelessness of the scribes. Where the modern map and the Arab geographers together fail us (e.g. in some sections of the Itineraries), the spelling of the place-names becomes quite uncertain, and the diverse readings often equal in number that of the manuscripts consulted, each scribe having added diacritical points and letters according to fancy. The Persians are, indeed, far behind the Arab scribes in matter of accuracy in copying their texts; and, curiously enough, where a criterion has existed for settling the true reading, I have often found that the older MSS. of the *Nuzhat* were quite as incorrectly written as the more modern copies of the work.

I have been unable to include in the following pages the names of all the villages given by Mustawfi in his lists; indeed, as a general rule, those names only are inserted which either occur in the works of the Arab geographers, or are found still to exist on our modern maps, or, finally, are inserted in the Itinerary. An exhaustive collating of all the MSS. would be required for fixing the readings of the outstanding names in Mustawfi's lists of sub-districts and villages; and even then accuracy would probably be unattainable, until the topography of Persia becomes more accurately and completely known. In the following pages, however, all the separate articles, whether of towns or districts, given by Mustawfi have been inserted, and the attempt is in every case made to identify the places mentioned; or, when the present maps and the Arab geographers alike are at fault, and no clear indication of the site is attainable, some indication is given of the region in which the place or its ruins should be sought for.

Before proceeding to a detailed examination of that section

of the *Nuzhat* which especially deals with the Īlkhānid kingdom of Īrān (Persia with Mesopotamia), it will be convenient to give first the general Table of Contents of the book, premising that the *Nuzhat-al-Kulūb* is a cosmographical work, of which a part only treats of geography, and that it is divided into five sections, namely, an *Introduction*, *Three Books*, and a *Conclusion*, these sections being in many cases further subdivided into Chapters and various Appendixes or sub-sections.<sup>1</sup>

INTRODUCTION (called *Fātiḥah* or *Mukaddamah*): treating of the Spheres, the Heavenly Bodies, and the Elements, followed by a description of the inhabited Quarters of the Earth, with an explanation of Latitude and Longitude, and the division into Climates, L. 8*h*.

FIRST BOOK (*Makālah-i-Awwal*): describing the Mineral, Vegetable, and Animal Kingdoms, L. *inset* 21*z*.

SECOND BOOK: Man, his nature, faculties, and qualities, L. 49*a*.

THIRD BOOK, divided into four Parts (*Kism*).

PART I: Mecca, Medina, and the Mosque of Jerusalem, L. 116*o*.

PART II: The Lands of Īrān, divided into twenty Chapters (*Bāb*)<sup>2</sup> and five Appendixes (*Makhlaṣ* or *Faṣl*).

Ch. 1, 'Irāk 'Arab, 132*p*.\* Ch. 2, 'Irāk 'Ajam, 141*w*.\*  
Ch. 3, Adharbayjān, 153*m*.\* Ch. 4, Mughān and Arrān,  
159*u*.\* Ch. 5, Shīrvān, 160*x*.\* Ch. 6, Gurjistān,

<sup>1</sup> The references (for distinction, where any ambiguity may occur, more especially marked L.) are to the lithographed edition, already indicated, of the *Nuzhat*. This contains in all 372 pages of text, which, for some unexplained reason, are not numbered consecutively. The pagination runs from pp. 1 to 48, this being followed by an inset of pp. 1 to 112, after which comes p. 49, thence running on continuously to the close of the work, which is numbered p. 260. Each page contains twenty-five lines of text, which for convenience I refer to under the letters of the alphabet: thus 132*z* and 133*a* indicate the last line and the first line of the text on these two pages respectively.

<sup>2</sup> The Persian text of the chapters marked \* has been printed by C. Schefer in his *Supplément au Siasset Nameh*, Paris, 1897, pp. 141-230. Of those marked † the text is given by B. Dorn in vol. iv of his *Muhammedanische Quellen*, St. Petersburg, 1858, pp. 81-87.

161*h*.\* Ch. 7, Rūm, 161*g*. Ch. 8, Armenia, 164*o*.\* Ch. 9, Jazīrah, 165*n*. Ch. 10, Kurdistān, 167*n*. Ch. 11, Khūzistān, 168*m*. Ch. 12, Fārs, 170*b*. Ch. 13, Shabānkārah, 181*g*. Ch. 14, Kirmān, 181*s*. Ch. 15, The Desert, 182*w*. Ch. 16, Nimrūz and Kūhistān, 183*e*. Ch. 17, Khurāsān, 185*e*. Ch. 18, Māzandarān, 190*j*.† Ch. 19, Kūmis, 191*b*.† Ch. 20, Gilān, 191*s*.†

*Appendix I*, the Itineraries, divided into the following sections:

—Route i, Sulṭānīyah to Hamadān and Kanguvār, 192*w*. Route ii, Kanguvār to Ḥulwān, 192*z*. Route iii, Ḥulwān to Baghdād and Najaf, 193*c*. After which, 193*k*, come the pilgrim routes across the Arabian Desert to Mecca, Medina, and back to Najaf. Route iv, Baghdād to Baṣrah and to the Island of Kays, 195*g*. Route v, Baghdād to Raḥbah, 195*v*. Route vi, Baghdād to Mosul, 195*x*. Route vii, Kanguvār to Isfahān, 195*g*. Route viii, Sulṭānīyah to Sūmghān, 196*d*. Route ix, Sūmghān to Bustām, 196*d*. Route x, Bustām to Nishāpūr, 196*n*. Route xi, Nishāpūr to Sarakhs and Marv-ar-Rūd, 196*u*. Route xii, Marv-ar-Rūd to Balkh and the Oxus, 197*a*. Route xiii, Bustām to Farāvah, 197*j*. Route xiv, Farāvah to Urganj, 197*l*. Route xv, Nishāpūr to Herat, 197*r*. Route xvi, Nishāpūr to Turshīz, 197*z*. Route xvii, Herat to Zaranj, MS. only. Route xviii, Herat to Marv-ar-Rūd and on to Great Marv, 198*a*. Route xix, Great Marv to Urganj, 198*e*. Route xx, Sulṭānīyah to Bajarvān, 198*n*. Route xxi, Bajarvān to Maḥmūdābād, 198*s*. Route xxii, Bajarvān to Tiflis, 198*u*. Route xxiii, Bajarvān to Tabrīz, 199*b*. Route xxiv, Sulṭānīyah to Tabrīz, 199*k*. Route xxv, Tabrīz to Sīvās, 199*n*. Route xxvi, Sūmghān to Isfahān, 199*v*. Route xxvii, Isfahān to Shīrāz, 200*c*. Route xxviii, Shīrāz to Kays Island, and thence by sea to India, 200*l*. Route xxix, Shīrāz to Kāzīrūn, 200*x*. Route xxx, Shīrāz to Hurmūz, 200*z*. Route xxxi, Shīrāz to Kirmān, 201*f*. Route xxxii, Shīrāz to Yazd, 201*k*. Route xxxiii, Shīrāz to Arrajān and Bustānak, 201*p*.

*Appendix II*, Mountains:—Alvand, 202*p*; Askanbarān, 202*u*; Bīsūtūn, 203*f*; Barchīn, 203*s*; Darāk, 203*y*; Damāvand, 203*z*; Darābjird mountains, 204*f*; Rastak, 204*g*;

Rūsmand, 204*k*; Rākhid, 204*n*; Kūh-Zar and Zardah-kūh, 204*q*; Sublān, 204*w*; Sarāband, 205*c*; Sahand, 205*h*; Siyāh-kūh, 205*k*; Sīpān, 205*l*; Shaḡāk, 205*m*; Šūr, 205*p*; Tāruḡ, 205*r*; Ṭabarak, 205*t*; Kārin, 205*x*; Ḳabalāh, 206*d*; Ḳafs, 206*e*; Kargas, 206*e*; Kirmān mountains, 206*h*; Gulistān, 206*k*; Gul-shān, 206*l*; Gunābād and Zībād, 206*n*; Kūshad, 206*o*; Kīlūyah, 206*q*; Māst-kūh, 206*r*; Mūrjān, 206*t*; Nisht, 206*v*; Salt mountain of Āvāh, 206*x*; Hajam, 207*a*; Harīn, 207*b*.

*Appendix III: Mines and Minerals, 207d.*

*Appendix IV, Rivers:*—Sayḡhān and Jayḡhān (the Sarus and Pyramus of Asiu Minor), 211*q*; Frāt (Euphrates), 211*u*; Nīl (the Nile), 212*g*; Itil (the Volga), 212*v*; Atrak, 212*z*; Aras, 213*b*; Ilāk, 213*e*; Būy, 213*f*; Bardāl, 213*j*; Jayḡhūn (Oxus), 213*l*; Jurjān, 213*u*; Dijlah (Tigris), 213*x*; Dujayl (Kūrūn), 214*e*; Dizfūl river, 214*h*; Upper and Lower Zāb, 214*j*; Murghāb, 214*n*; Zandah-rūd, 214*r*; Zakān, 214*z*; Safid-rūd,<sup>1</sup> 215*c*; Sayḡhūn or Shāsh (Jaxartes), 215*h*; Shāhrūd, 215*n*; Ās (Orontes), 215*q*; Khitay river, 215*s*; Farah-rūd, 215*t*; Kaw'ah (or Ḳar'ah), 215*u*; Karkhah, 215*w*; Kur of Georgia, 215*y*; Kur of Fārs, 216*a*; Gaug (Ganges), 216*f*; Mīhrān (Indus), 216*h*; Nabrawān, 216*l*; Harī-rūd, 216*p*; Hirmand (Helmund), 216*s*; Jāyij-rūd, 216*v*; Garm-rūd or Kūh-rūd, 216*x*; Ḳum river, 216*z*; Gāvmāsā, 217*a*; Zanjān river, 217*c*; Abhar river, 217*g*; Kazvīn rivers, 217*j*, *q*, and *t*; Tārum river, 217*k*; Kāshān river, 217*m*; Muzdaḡān, 217*n*; Kardān, 217*r*; Kharraḡān rivers, 217*s* and *v*; Andarāb, 217*w*; Ahar river, 217*y*; Awjān river, 218*a*; Jaghtū, 218*b*; Sarāv, 218*c*; Sard-rūd, 218*e*; Sanjid and Kadpū, 218*f*; Šāfi, 218*g*; Shāl, 218*h*; Garm-rūd, 218*h*; Mihrān-rūd, 218*j*; Marand river, 218*l*; Miyanij river, 218*n*; Taghtū, 218*p*; Hasht-rūd, 218*q*; Pulvār, 218*r*; Ṭāb, 218*s*; Masin, 218*u*; Shīrīn, 218*v*; Sitādkān, 218*w*; Jarrah river, 218*x*; Darkhuvayd, 218*y*; Khwāndān, 218*z*; Ratīn, 219*a*; Jarshīḡ, 219*b*; Ikshshīn, 219*d*; Sam-rūd, 219*d*; Div-rūd, 219*e*; Nishāvar river, 219*f*; Barārah, 219*g*; Bulīkh, 219*j*; Khābūr,

<sup>1</sup> Here, and in many other instances, the form of the name given is Ab-i-Safid-Rūd, literally 'Water (or River) of the White-river,' the word for river being repeated twice.



219*k*; Hirmās, 219*m*; Tharthār, 219*o*; Sūr, 219*p*; Shūrāb, 219*q*; Dizbād, 219*r*; Sahr, 219*s*; Kharū, 219*t*; Tūshkān, 219*u*; Pusht-farūsh, 219*v*; Khajank, 219*x*; Farajuh, 219*x*; Dahar, 219*y*; Baḳīrān, 219*z*; Chārsaf-rūd, 220*a*; 'Aṭshābad river, 220*b*; Vakhshāb, 220*d*; Jaghān, 220*e*; Bayāt river, 220*g*; Daḳūḳ river, 220*j*; Barāz-ar-Rūz river, 220*l*.

*Appendix V*, Seas and Lakes:—The seven Seas, 220*n*; Sea of China, 220*w*; the Indian Sea, 221*t*; the Persian Gulf, 222*t*; the Red Sea, 223*e*; the Sea of the Franks, 223*r*; the Western Sea, 224*c*; the Sea of Rūm, 224*m*; the Sea of Darkness, 224*y*; the Eastern Sea, 225*b*; the Caspian, 225*d*; Lake Bakhtiḡān, 225*y*; Lake of Dasht Arzin, 226*a*; the Jirrah Lake, 226*b*; Māhalūyah Lake, 226*c*; Lake of Darkhuvayd, 226*d*; the Lakes of Māshuyah and of Murghzār Isfandān, 226*e*; Urmīyah Lake, 226*f*; Arjīsh Lake (Van), 226*j*; Gukchah Lake, 226*k*; Chashmah Sabz, 226*l*; the Zarah Lake, 226*p*; the Khwārizm Lake (Aral Sea), 226*q*; the Lake of Tinnis (Egypt), 226*u*.

PART III: The Border Lands of Irān, that at times have been subject thereof.

This part gives a number of short articles on the following countries and towns:—Alexander and the Wall against Gog and Magog, 227*d*; Bāb-al-Abwāb, 227*k*; Samarkand, 228*d*; Siyāvush-gird, 228*u*; Farghānah, 228*x*; Alexandria, 229*b*; Damascus, 230*d*; Raḥbah, 230*z*; Cairo and Egypt, 231*e*; Southern Regions, 232*j*; Northern Regions, beyond Bāb-al-Abwāb with the Gog and Magog Wall, 232*p*.

PART IV: Foreign Lands that never have been subject to Irān.

This part briefly notices the following cities and lands with others:—Balāsaghūn, 233*q*; Thibet, 233*r*; China, 233*z*; Khitay, 234*e*; Khoten, 234*f*; Khwārizm, 234*g*; the Desert of Kīpchāk, 234*l*; Lands of Gog and Magog, 234*q*; Bulghār, 234*s*; various Indian cities, 234*t*; Ṣaghāniyān, 234*w*; Karāḳorum, 235*c*; Kandahār, 235*f*; Kābul, 235*h*; Kashmīr, 235*j*; Māchīn (China), 235*m*; Transoxiana, 235*r*; Makrān, 235*w*; India, 235*z*; Dehli, 236*b*; Yaman, 236*f*; Aden, 236*k*; Oman, 236*m*; Yamāmah, 236*n*; Ḥaḍramawt, 236*t*; Little Armenia, 236*v*; Ifrīḳīyah, 236*y*; Andalus, 237*d*; the Arabian Desert, 238*e*; Hījāz, 238*m*; Syria, 238*g*;

Tarsus, the Cave of the Seven Sleepers, 239*c*; Tangiers, 239*h*; the Lands of the Franks, Constantinople, 239*r*; Palestine, 239*v*; Kayruwān, 240*h*; Kulzum, 240*l*; Miṣr (Egypt), 240*m*; Maghrib and Western Lands, 240*r*; Greece, 243*a*.

CONCLUSION (*Khātimah*). Description of Marvels in various parts of Irūn:—In Khurāsān, Kūmis, Māzandarān, and Kūhistān, 243*n*; in 'Irāḳ 'Ajam, Kurdistān, Lūristān, and Gilān, 243*s*; in Fārs, Kirmān, and Shabānkārah, 246*e*; in 'Irāḳ 'Arab and Khūzistān, 246*r*; in Rūm, Gurjistān, Adharbayjān, Mughān, Arrān, and Shirvān, 247*j*; marvels in diverse other quarters of the habitable world, 248*k*. *Finis* of the *Nuzhat-al-Kulūb*, setting forth the author's apology, 254*d*; followed by a list of the chief Arabic and Persian historians, with the names of their works, 257*a*–259*z*. Colophon, 260.

Reverting now to Part II of the Third Book, *On the Lands of Irān*—the subject of the present paper—the detailed contents of the twenty chapters into which this is divided are succinctly discussed in the following pages. And here, for the sake of convenience, I have added to each chapter, when treating of the various provinces and towns, those articles which go to form Appendices II, IV, and V, in which Mustawfi describes the *Mountains, Rivers, and Lakes* of Persia and Mesopotamia, giving of course also a reference to the *Nuzhat* where the text of the Appendix will be found. Appendix I, on the Itineraries, will be treated in detail at the close of Chapter 20; but in regard to Appendix III, on *Mines*, being totally unacquainted with mineralogy, and since this section treats only of the places where diverse minerals and metals are to be found, I have thought it wiser to omit this part altogether from my paper.

The list of names is a long one, and perhaps a few remarks on the nomenclature will not be out of place before proceeding to the description of the various provinces.

In glancing over the place-names which Mustawfi records it is clear that the Arab element, found in the earlier geographers, had in the fourteenth century A.D. given place

almost entirely to Persian forms. The Arabs very usually added the article *al* to place-names which in their language had a meaning, e.g., Al-Anbār 'the Granary,' Al-Ḥadīthah 'the New Town,' and Al-Mawṣil 'the Junction' (Mosul); but in addition it will be found that they frequently wrote their article before purely Persian place-names, e.g. As-Sirjān and Al-Iṣṭahbānān, where there was no very obvious reason for so doing. It is impossible to say why Rhages should always have been written with the article *Ar-Ray*, while *Jay*, the old name for Isfahān, should have as invariably been written without it. In Mustawfi's lists, however, the Arabic article has everywhere disappeared, and we have Ray, Mawṣil, etc.; while names such as Ar-Rān and Ar-Ras (*spelt* Al-Rān, Al-Ras in the Arabic writing), which in the older geographers had thus the false appearance of Arab names, in the pages of Mustawfi appear in plain Persian as Arrān and Aras.

Glancing over the map it will thus be found that nearly everywhere the older nomenclature has disappeared: Naysābūr is become Nīshāpūr (in modern Persian the diphthongs *ay* and *aw* are as a rule replaced by long *i* and *ū*), Kirmīsīn is replaced by Kirmānshāhān, Nashavā by Nakhchivān; and Arabic names are given in their Persian equivalent, Kaṣr-ar-Rīh 'Wind Palace' becoming Dīh Bād, Kaṣriyat-al-Asad 'Lion Village' and Kaṣr-al-Jawz 'Nut Palace' reappearing as Dīh Shīr and Dīh Jawz, the meanings standing unchanged. More especially in the province of Fārs it will be found that Kaḷ'ah, signifying a castle in Arabic, is still very generally retained; at times, however, it is replaced by the Persian equivalent Diz, e.g. Kaḷ'ah Isfandiyār, otherwise called Diz-i-Safid 'White Castle,' and in one case the Arabic Kaḷ'ah or Kaḷ'at reappears under the purely Persian form of Kilāt, which as a place-name became common in later times throughout Western Asia. In short, Persia proper in the time of Mustawfi had already got quit of Arabic place-names; one of the few mentioned by him (and the name is still retained) being Baydā (Arabic *al-Baydā*, 'the White Town') in the

Marvdasht plain to the north of Shīrāz. Of purely Arabic names Wāsiṭah, 'the Middle place,' a post-stage between Kāshān and Isfahān, is another example, but the reading of the MSS. is not sure, and in another instance Ḥaddādah, 'the Frontier or Barrier,' a stage on the great eastern road between Damghān and Bustām, the Arab name is given with its Persian alias of Miḥmān-dūst, and this last is the one still in use. One other instance of an Arabic name in Persia, as given by Mustawfi, occurs in Rās-al-Kalb, 'the Dog's Head,' a stage between Ray and Samnān. No trace of this name exists at the present time, and apparently its place is occupied by Lāsījird, the name of the curious fortress - town (wanting in the lists of the mediæval geographers) which crowns a bluff overlooking the desert plain (see illustration in H. W. Bellew, *From the Indus to the Tigris*, p. 404).

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### Chapter 1. 'Irāk 'Arab.

Contents: Kūfah, L. 133s; Mashhad 'Alī, 134g; Mashhad Ḥusayn, 134s; Baghdād, 135a; Anbār, 136w; Bābil, 136s; Barāzar-Rūz, 137f; Baṣrah, 137f; 'Abbādān, 137w; Bandanījīn and Liḥf, 137s; Bayāt, 138a; Takrit, 138d; Tall 'Aḳarḳūf, 138f; Ḥadithah, 138g; Ḥarbā, 138h; Hillah, 138j; Ḥulwān, 138p; Ḥīrah, 138s; Khālīṣ, 138v; Khānikīn, 138w; Dujayl, 138x; Daḳūḳ, 139a; Dayr 'Āḳūl, 139b; Rūmīyah, 139c; Rādhān and Bayn Nahrayn, 139d; Zangiābād, 139e; Sāmarrāh, 139f; Ṣadrayn, 139r; Ṭarīḳ, or the Road of, Khurāsān and Ba'ḳūbā, 139s; Shahrabān, 139w; 'Ānuh, 139x; 'Askarah, 139s; Ḳaṣr Shīrīn, 139s; Kādīsīyah, 140e; Kūrān, 140e; Muḥawwal, 140f; Madāin, 140j; Nahr 'Isā, 141g; Nahr Malik, 141k; Nahrawān, 141m; Nu'mānīyah, 141o; Nīl, 141p; Hit and Jubbah, 141p; Wāsiṭ, 141t.

The dividing-line between the two provinces of 'Irāk and Jazīrah (Lower and Upper Mesopotamia) has varied at different epochs. In Abbasid times it is generally given as running up from Anbār on the Euphrates to Takrit on

the Tigris,<sup>1</sup> both towns being as a rule included in the lower province. In the time of Ḥamd-Allah, however, 'Irāk included as well many towns lying on the Euphrates to the north of Anbār, up to or beyond 'Ānah, and the frontier line at that period went from a short distance below Karkisiyā, where the river Khābūr joins the Euphrates, across Mesopotamia to a point on the Tigris immediately below the junction of the Lesser Zāb. Ḥamd-Allah in Appendix IV describes both the Euphrates and the Tigris at some length (L. 211u and 213x), but adds nothing to what has been already given in the notes to my translation of Ibn Serapion. The Tigris in his time still flowed down by the Shaṭṭ-al-Ḥay past Wāsiṭ into the Great Swamps, which in their western portion swallowed up the waters also of the Euphrates below Kūfah; in short, the state of the country described by Ibn Serapion at the close of the ninth century A.D. still existed in 1340, and for that matter continued unaltered until after the time of Ḥāfiz Abrū in 1420, the change to the present state of the Euphrates and Tigris having taken place in the century before 1652 A.D., when Tavernier visited the country.<sup>2</sup>

Among the cities of 'Irāk, Ḥamd-Allah being an ardent Shī'ah gives precedence to Kūfah (I.S. 53), near the burial-place of the Imāms, which he calls the Dār-al-Mulk, 'the Abode of Power,' though Baghdād is, he admits, 'the Mother of Cities' and the metropolis. His description of the celebrated shrines near Kūfah is given in the following

<sup>1</sup> See *Map of Mesopotamia as described by Ibn Serapion*. In order to save needless repetition the letters I.S. will mark a reference to the volume of this Journal for 1895 where, in the notes to my paper on Ibn Serapion, details of many of the towns here mentioned will be found.

<sup>2</sup> See *Baghdad during the Caliphate*, p. 8, note 1. Since writing this I have found in *Purchas' Pilgrims* (folio, 1625, vol. v, p. 1411) that in 1581 John Newberie apparently travelled down from Baghdad to Baṣrah by the present, eastern, course of the Tigris. The change, therefore, from the Wāsiṭ channel to that at present followed must have already taken place, in all probability, before the middle of the sixteenth century A.D. Nothing certain is to be learnt from the Narratives of Cæsar Frederic in 1563 (*Purchas*, v, p. 1702), John Eldred in 1583 (*Hakluyt Travels*, 4to edit., ii, p. 404), or the anonymous Portuguese traveller, circa 1555, whose MS. is in the possession of Major M. Hume (see *Athenæum* for 25th March, 1901, p. 373).

paragraph, which is a slightly condensed translation of the Persian text :—

“Two leagues to the northward of Kūfah is Mashhad ‘Alī, where the Caliph is buried; for, on receiving his death wound in the Kūfah Mosque, ‘Alī had ordered that his body should be put on a camel, which was then to be turned loose, and wherever the camel knelt there his body was to be buried. All this was therefore done, but during the time of the Omayyads no tomb was erected at Mashhad ‘Alī, for the place was kept hidden for security. In the year 175 (791 A.D.) the holy site was discovered by the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, for when hunting one day near Kūfah he had chased his quarry into a thicket, but on attempting to follow it he found that no force could prevail on his horse to enter the place. Then awe fell on Hārūn, and on enquiring of the peasants they told him this was indeed the burial-place of ‘Alī, as such being an inviolate sanctuary. Orders were given to dig, and the body of ‘Alī was found, to guard which a shrine (or Mashhad) was then built, which became a place of visitation. At a later date in the year 366 (977 A.D.) ‘Aḍud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid erected the Mausoleum which still exists, and the place became a little town 2,500 paces in circuit. Ghāzān Khān the Īl-Khān in recent times erected here the house for Sayyids called the Dār-as-Siyādah, also a Khānqāh or Darvīsh monastery. To the north-west of Kūfah, eight farsakhs away in the desert, is Karbalā, the place of martyrdom of Ḥusayn. The building now seen here was erected by ‘Aḍud-ad-Dawlah aforesaid, and a small town has grown up round this shrine also, being some 2,400 paces in circuit. Outside Mashhad Ḥusayn are seen the tombs of those who fell fighting at his side in the battle that resulted in his martyrdom.”

The early history of these two celebrated shrines is obscure; the foregoing is the usual Shī‘ah account, but though it is true that Hārūn-ar-Rashīd at one period of his reign favoured the Alids, the Arab chronicles do, not

relate that he 'invented' the Tomb of 'Alī. The earliest notice in detail of Mashhad 'Alī appears to be of the middle of the fourth century A.H. (tenth A.D.), written by Ibn Hawḳal. He says (p. 163) that the Ḥamdānīd prince Abu-l-Ḥayjā, who was governor of Mosul in 292 (A.D. 904) and died in 317 (A.D. 929), had built a dome on four columns over the tomb at Mashhad 'Alī, which shrine he ornamented with rich carpets and hangings; further, he surrounded the town there with a wall. Elsewhere Ibn Hawḳal, however, adds that in his day the burial-place of 'Alī was also shown in the corner of the great Mosque at Kūfah, and this attribution was credited by many persons. In the pages of the Chronicle of Ibn-al-Athīr (ix, 13, 42, 169, 394; x, 103) it is recorded that the Buyid prince 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah was buried at Mashhad 'Alī, also his sons Sharaf and Bahā-ad-Dawlah; and diverse other notable persons are under various dates stated to have been buried here.

In the year 443 (1051 A.D.) the shrine was burnt to the ground by the Baghdād populace, who, being orthodox, had taken to persecuting the Shī'ahs; it must, however, have been rebuilt shortly afterwards, for Malik Shāh and his Vazīr, the Nizām-al-Mulk, made their visitation to the tomb in 479 (1086 A.D.). Yāḳūt, who mentions Mashhad 'Alī in his articles on Kūfah and Najaf, unfortunately gives us no details of the shrine.

In regard to Karbalā and the shrine of Ḥusayn, it is nowhere stated by whom it was first built, but in the year 236 (850 A.D.) the Caliph Mutawakkil earned the lasting hatred of all good Shī'ahs by ordering the buildings here to be destroyed by flooding the place with water; also he forbade the visitation of the sacred spot under heavy penalties. How long the tomb of Ḥusayn remained in ruin is not stated, but 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid in 368 (979 A.D.) built a magnificent shrine here, and this is noticed by the contemporary geographers Iṣṭakhri (p. 85) and Ibn Hawḳal (p. 166). In 407 (1016 A.D.) the dome at Mashhad Ḥusayn was burnt down, but doubtless was restored before the place was visited by Malik Shāh in 479 (1086 A.D.).

when he went hunting in these districts. Yākūt unfortunately gives us no description of Mashhad Ḥusayn to supplement the above, which is derived from Ibn al-Athīr (*Chronicle*, vii, 36; viii, 518; ix, 209; x, 103).

The description of Baghdād, that follows the description of Kūfah in the *Nuzhat*, has already been summarized in a recent number of this Journal (J.R.A.S. for 1899, p. 885), and most of the other towns are mentioned in the notes to my translation of Ibn Serapion and need only a reference here. A plan of the ruins of Anbār is given by Mr. J. P. Peters in his recent work on *Nippur* (i, 177); he visited the site, and this lies at some distance from Sifayra (see also I.S. 52). Bābil is at the ruins of ancient Babylon (I.S. 259). According to Ibn Khurdābih (p. 6), Barāz-ar-Rūz and Bandanījīn were the chief towns of two neighbouring Sub-districts (*Ṭassūj*) of the great District (*Asṭān*) of Shādh Ḳubādh, which was the third *Asṭān* of the twelve Districts into which 'Irāk was divided in the times of the Abbasids. From the mention of neighbouring places it is almost certain that Barāz-ar-Rūz is identical with the modern Bilād Rūz, lying about twenty-five miles east of Ba'ḳūbā; and Ḥamd-Allah (L. 220/) also speaks of its river, which rising in the Kurdistān mountains flowed out into the plain and became lost before reaching the Tigris bank. Bandanījīn, generally called Bandanīgān in the Liḥf District, has left no trace on the map. It was an important town when Yākūt (i, 745; iv, 353) wrote, lying near the foot-hills (or Liḥf) of the Khūzistān frontier, and its ruins should be sought for some fifty miles to the eastward, bearing south, of Bilād Rūz.

Baṣrah and 'Abbādān have been noticed before (I.S. 302, 304). The little town of Bayāt still exists, and Ḥamd-Allah (L. 220g) refers to its river, which rising in the Kurdistān mountains became lost in the plain below the town after watering many districts. Bayāt, a name which does not occur in the Arab geographers, is identical with, or rather lies close to, the ruins of Ṭib, a town mentioned by Yākūt (iii, 566) as of some importance during Abbasid days, the site of which has been visited and described by Sir H. Layard



(*Early Adventures*, ii, 229). Takrīt was the frontier town on the Tigris between Lower and Upper Mesopotamia (I.S. 36). The great mound of Tall 'Aḳarkūf still exists; its village was, according to Yāḳūt (i, 867), of the 'Īsā Canal District, and probably stood at no great distance from the town of Muḥawwal, of which apparently all traces have vanished. Ḥadīthah, 'the New Town' of the Euphrates, lying some thirty-five miles below 'Ānah, is called Ḥadīthah-an-Nūrah by Yāḳūt (ii, 223) to distinguish it from the other Ḥadīthah on the Tigris, at the junction of the Upper Zāb. Harbā still exists on the Dujayl Canal (I.S. 39), and Ḥillah is on the Euphrates (I.S. 259). The ruins of Ḥulwān exist at the site called Sar-i-pul, and have been recently visited by M. de Morgan. The remains of Ḥirah lie near Kūfah (I.S. 53), and the Khālīṣ is a canal of East Baghdād (I.S. 225). Khāniḳīn, Daḳūḳ, Zangiābād, and Ḳaṣr Shīrīn all figure on the map and need no comment. The first and last are in the Itinerary (Route iii), and Ḥamd-Allah describes (L. 220*f*) the Daḳūḳ river as flowing from the Kurdistān mountains by the Darband-i-Khalīfah, past Daḳūḳ, and out into the plain, where its waters were usually lost in the sand, though in the spring freshets they flow down to join the Tigris.

The Dujayl Canal is of West Baghdād (I.S. 70), and Dayr-al-'Āḳūl is on the Tigris, so too Rūmiyah, opposite Mudāin (I.S. 40, 41). Rādhān and Bayn-an-Nahrayn—'Between two Canals'—were two neighbouring regions of the Nahrawān. Both names have now disappeared from the map, but, according to Ibn Khurdābih (p. 6), there were, in Abbasid times, two Sub-districts called the Ṭassūj of Upper and of Lower Rādhān which formed part of the Shād Hurmuz Astān or District, and this last was on the left bank of the Tigris in the neighbourhood of Madāin. It is to be remarked that the name of Bayn-an-Nahrayn does not apparently occur in any other author. The Khurāsān Road is the name for the district to the eastward of Baghdād. Sāmarrāh and Ba'ḳūbā exist, and are noticed by Ibn Serapion (I.S. 36, 268). The region of Ṣadrayn

was watered by the Euphrates, but I have failed to discover its position, though the name occurs in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 466), and all the MSS. agree in this spelling. As given in the Itinerary (Route iii), and lying to the north-east of Baghdād, Shahrabān still exists; and 'Ānah is on the Euphrates (I.S. 52). Neither in the *Jihān Numā* nor elsewhere, apparently, is any account found of the towns named 'Askarah (or 'Askariyah)<sup>1</sup> and Kūrān, which are not either of them marked on our maps. Kādisiyah may be either the town of that name on the Tigris (I.S. 37), or the place on the desert border near Kūfah, where the great battle was fought when the Arab armies first invaded Mesopotamia.

As already said, Muhawwal was the town on the great canal called the Nahr 'Īsā (I.S. 71) to the west of Baghdād, and the ruins of Madūn are still to be seen on the Tigris below Baghdād (I.S. 40). The canal called the Nahr Mālik is the one below the Nahr 'Īsā flowing from the Euphrates to the Tigris (I.S. 74), and Nu'māniyah (I.S. 43) stands on the Tigris a little above where the Nīl Canal—on which is the town called Nīl—flows in (I.S. 261). The city of Nahrawān is the place now called Sifwah (I.S. 269) on the Nahrawān, the great loop canal of the left bank of the Tigris which, starting from Dūr below Takrīt, rejoined the Tigris again below Mādharāyā after a course of about 200 miles (I.S. 267). In its entirety this canal no longer exists, but its course can be traced, and from what Ḥamd-Allah reports it had gone out of use even in his day, for he gives the name of Nahrawān to what is now known as the Diyālā river. In Appendix IV (L. 216<sup>l</sup>) he writes that the Nahrawān river had two head streams, both of which rose in the mountains of Kurdistān. One of them was called the Shīrwān river from the district of that name on its upper course, and lower down reaching the Taymarrah District it took this latter name. Below this the Nahrawān, or Taymarrah, was joined by the other branch, which rose

<sup>1</sup> This place may be 'Askar-al-Mu'tasim, or the Camp Quarter, at Sāmarrā, where the Alid shrines stood: see Yāqūt, iii, 675; Mushtarik, 309; Marāṣid, ii, 5.

in the mountains above Ḥulwān, at a spring in the Pass of Ṭāḡ-i-Kizā of the Gīl wa Gīlān District; thence flowing down past the cities of Ḥulwān, Ḳaṣr-i-Shīrīn, and Khāniḳīn to its junction with the other stream. Below the junction, and above Ba'ḳūbā, the united waters formed the Nahrawān, which finally flowed out into the Tigris a short distance below Baghdād.

The town of Hīt lies on the Euphrates (I.S. 52), and Jubbah, if this be the right reading of the text, is a small place on an island in the Euphrates fifteen leagues above Hīt. Lastly, Wāsiṭ on the older course of the Tigris (now the Shaṭṭ-al-Ḥay) was a place of importance as late as the time of Timur (*Zafar Nāmah*, i, 657, and elsewhere), though at the present day its ruins have almost completely disappeared (I.S. 44).

## REFERENCES TO MAP OF PERSIA.

The names of the stages on the post-roads will be found in Appendix I on the Itineraries.

'IRĀK 'AJAM.—1, Firūzān; 2, Fārifān; 3, Varāmin; 4, Tihrān and Shrine of Shāh 'Abd-al-'Azīm; 5, Fārisjīn; 6, Sūmghān; 7, Sagsābād; 8, Abhar; 9, Āvah; 10, Sāvah; 11, Sunkurābād; 12, Sujās and Suhraṣard; 13, Satūrīk; 14, Sarjahān; 15, Šāin Kal'ah; 16, Kāghadh Kunān or Khūnaj; 17, Muzdaḳān; 18, Sāmān; 19, Ardistān; 20, Dalījān; 21, Gulpaygān; 22, Zavārah; 23, Dih Sārūk; 24, Naṭanz; 25, Idhaj or Māl Amīr; 26, 'Arūj or Sūsan; 27, Lurdagān; 28, Sābūrkhwāst; 29, Khurramābād; 30, Burūjird; 31, Saymarah; 32, Asadābād; 33, Ābah of Kharraḳān; 34, Darguzīn; 35, Rūdarūd, Tuvī, and Sarkān; 36, Maybud; 37, Nāyin.

ADHARBAYJĀN.—1, Awjān; 2, Tarūj or Tasūj; 3, Khalkhāl; 4, Shāl and Kulūr; 5, Ahar; 6, Khoi; 7, Salmās; 8, Urmīyah; 9, Ushnūyah; 10, Sarāv; 11, Miyānij; 12, Pasavā; 13, Dih Khwārkān; 14, Laylān; 15, Marand; 16, Zangiyan and Bridge of Khudā Āfarīn; 17, Karkar and Bridge of Diyā-al-Mulk; 18, Nakhchivān; 19, Urdūbād.

MUGHĀN and ARRĀN.—1, Barzand; 2, Pīlvār; 3, Maḥmūdābād; 4, Burda'ah.

KURDISTĀN.—1, Alishtar; 2, Bahār; 3, Sulṭānābād Jamjamāl; 4, Shahrazūr; 5, Kirind and Kūshān; 6, Harsin; 7, Vashām or Bisūtūn.

KHŪZISTĀN.—1, Junday Shāpūr; 2, Hawīzah; 3, Rāmhurmuz; 4, Sūs; 5, 'Askar Mukram; 6, Masruḳāu town.

FĀRS.—1, Tawwaz; 2, Khabr; 3, Khunayfghān; 4, Šimkān; 5, Kavār; 6, Kārzin, Kir, and Abzar; 7, Kāriyān; 8, Lāghir; 9, Kūrān; 10, Mīmand; 11, Ištakhr; 12, Abarḳūh; 13, Iqlīd; 14, Surmaḳ; 15, Baydā; 16, Kharrāmāh; 17, Māyin; 18, Band-i-Amīr; 19, Harāt; 20, Kuṭruḥ; 21, Kamīn; 22, Kallār and

Kūrad; 23, Yazdikhwāst; 24, Dih Girdū; 25, Abādah; 26, Jahram; 27, Juvaym of Abu Ahmad; 28, Shāpūr; 29, Nawbanjān; 30, Tīr Murdān; 31, Jirrah; 32, Gunbad Mallaghān; 33, Khisht; 34, Kumārij; 35, Juvaym and Khullār; 36, Rīshahr; 37, Būstānak; 38, Mahrubān; 39, Sīnīz; 40, Jaunābā.

SHABĀNKĀRAH.—1, Darkān or Zarkān; 2, Iṣṭahbānān; 3, Nīriz; 4, Khayrah; 5, Tārum; 6, Kurm and Rūbanz.

KUHISTĀN.—1, Bajistān; 2, Junābād; 3, Dasht-i-Biyād and Fāris; 4, Birjund; 5, Khusf; 6, Isfād; 7, Istind; 8, Shārah; 9, Ṭabas Kīlakī; 10, Ṭabas Masīnān; 11, Darah Castle.

KHURĀSĀN.—1, Isfarāyin; 2, Bayhaḡ or Sabzivār; 3, Biyār; 4, Khudāshah of Juvayn; 5, Mashhad-i-Imām Rīdā; 6, Fūshanj; 7, Kusūy; 8, Khargird; 9, Mālān of Bākharz; 10, Gunābād of Bādghīz; 11, Jām, and Būzjān or Pūchkān; 12, Khwāf; 13, Salām; 14, Sanjān; 15, Zūzan; 16, Abivard; 17, Khavārān.

KŪMIS.—1, Khuvār or Maḡallah Bāgh; 2, Samnān; 3, Āhūvān; 4, Girdkūh; 5, Firūzkūh.

GĪLĀN.—1, Tūlim; 2, Shaft; 3, Fūmin; 4, Kawtam; 5, Lāhijān.

## Chapter 2. 'Irāq 'Ajām.

Contents: Iṣfahān, 142*f*, and its eight districts, viz., Jay, Mārbīn, Karārij, Qahāb, Burkhawār, Khānlānjān, Barān, and Rūdash, with their villages, 143*e*; Firūzān, 143*w*; Ray, 143*y*; Ṭīhrān, 144*r*; Varāmīn, 144*s*; Sulṭānīyah, 144*v*; Qazvīn, 145*k*; Abhar, 146*t*; the Districts of Daylam and Ṭālīsh, 147*a*; Āvāh, 147*e*; the Rūdbār District, with Castles of Alamūt and Maymūn Diz, 147*l*; Zanjān, 147*v*; Sāvah, 148*e*; Sāūj Bulāḡ, Sujās, and Suhravard, 148*g*; Satūrīḡ, 148*v*; the two Tārum Districts, 149*d*; Sarjahān and Qubūd or Ṣayīn Kal'ah, 149*a*; the Ṭālīkān District, 149*l*; Kāghadh Kunān or Khūnaj, 149*p*; Muzdakān and Sāmān, 149*v*; Tabarik, Marjamnān, and Andajan Districts, 149*y*; Pushkil Darrah, 150*e*; Qum, 150*f*; Kāshān and Fīn, 150*l*; Ardīstān and the Tafrīsh District, 150*s*; Jurbādaḡān or Gulpayḡān, 150*v*; Dalījān, 150*y*; Zavārah, 151*a*; Farāhān and Dih Sārūḡ, 151*b*; Karaj, 151*e*; Naṭanz, 151*j*; Nismūr, 151*k*; Marāvādīn, 151*l*;

Vashāk, 151*m*; Great Lur District, 151*o*; Īdhaj, 151*q*; Aruh or Sūs, 151*r*; Lurīakān, 151*s*; Little Lur District, 151*t*; Burūjird, 151*u*; Khurramābād and Samsā, 151*w*; Şaymarah, 151*x*; Hamadān, 151*y*, and its five districts, viz., Farīvār, Azmādīn, Sharāhīn, A'lam, and Sardrūd, with their villages, 152*g*; Asadābād, 152*o*; the districts of Māja'ū and Tamsār, 152*p*; the District of Kharraḳān, with the (northern) Āvah, 152*q*; Darguzīn, 152*s*; Kūdrāwar, Tuvī, and Sarkān, 152*v*; Sāmān, 152*y*; Shabī Bahar and Fūlān, 152*z*; Nihāvand, 153*a*; Yazd, 153*d*; Maybud and Nāyin, 153*l*.

What had of old been the province of Media the Arabs named Al-Jibāl—'the Mountains'—a perfectly appropriate name, as will be seen by a glance at the map, for the great mountain region separating the plains of Mesopotamia from the highlands of Persia. In the time of the Saljūḳ princes, by some misnomer, this, their capital province, came to be called 'Irāḳ 'Ajamī, or *Persian* 'Irāḳ, a name that was totally unknown to the earlier Arab geographers. Hence in after days Al-'Irāḳayn, 'The Two 'Irāḳs,' were taken to mean Media and Lower Mesopotamia, which last for distinction was thenceforth called *Arabian* 'Irāḳ—'Irāḳ 'Arabī. Originally, it is to be observed, Al-'Irāḳayn had been a term applied to the two great *cities* of (Arabian) 'Irāḳ, namely, Kūfah and Baṣrah; but the Saljūḳs had affected the title of Sultān of the Two 'Irāḳs, which in consequence, as explained above, came to be applied to the two provinces, but as Abu-l-Fidā (p. 408) writes "among the vulgar," and wrongfully (see also Yāḳūt, ii, 15, and Lane, *Dictionary*, s.v. 'Irāḳ). The name, however, has continued in use down to the present time.

Further, it is to be remarked that after the Mongol settlement Persian 'Irāḳ was greater in extent to the eastward than the older Arab province of Jibāl, by the addition thereto of Yazd and its district, which formerly had been counted as of Fārs; on the other hand, it had been diminished in size by the creation of the new province of Kurdistān, which had been taken from its western part, and Kurdistān now divided Persian from Arabian 'Irāḳ. Under the Ilkhāns Persian

'Irāk became the capital province of their empire, for it included the four great cities of Isfahān, Ray, Hamadān, and Sultāniyah, the new metropolis recently founded by Uljaytū.

The eight districts of Isfahān mentioned by Ḥamd-Allah all exist at the present day (as do many of the villages which he also enumerates, and which are described by General Schindler in *Eastern Persian 'Irāk*, pp. 120, 122). The city, he says, originally consisted of four wards (still existing in name), viz., Karrān, Kūshk, Jūbarah, and Dardasht, the walls round these having been built by Rukn-ad-Dawlah the Buyid. In the Julbārah quarter (now pronounced Gulbārah, and lying to the north-east of modern Isfahān, round the Maydān-i-Kuhnāh or Old Square) was the Madrasah (College) and tomb of Sultān Muḥammad the Saljūq, and here might be seen a block of stone weighing 10,000 *man* (equivalent, perhaps, to a little less than 32 tons weight), this being a great idol carried off by the Sultan from India, and set up before the College-gate (L. 142*u*). History, however, does not record that this Sultān Muḥammad (a son of Malik-Shāh, who reigned from 498 to 511 A.H.) made any conquests in India, nor does Ḥamd-Allah himself allude to the fact in the *Guzidah* when treating of his reign.

Isfahān lay on the northern or left bank of the river Zandah-rūd, which is described as rising in the mountains of Zardah Kūh, the 'Yellow Mountains,' still so called from their yellow limestone cliffs (L. 204*q*). Of this region also were the Ashkahrān mountains, lying on the frontiers of Greater Lur (L. 202*u*). After passing the cities of Firūzān [1]<sup>1</sup> and Isfahān, the Zandah-rūd flowed through the district of Rūdasht, of which the chief town was Fārifān [2], and there became lost in the great swamp of Gāvkhānī. The river was also known as the Zāyindah or Zarīn-rūd, and, according to popular belief, after sinking into the Gāvkhānī swamp, it flowed for sixty leagues underground to Kirmān,

<sup>1</sup> The numbers in square brackets refer to the Map.

when it rose again to the surface and thence attained the sea (L. 214<sup>r</sup>). Besides Isfahān town, the Isfahān district included the two great cities of Fārifān and Fīrūzān. The former still exists as a village (Schindler, op. cit., p. 126) not far from the Gāvkhānī swamp. Fīrūzān city has apparently disappeared from the map, but according to our author it stood on the river bank in the Khānlanjān District, and paid revenue to the amount of 164,000 dinārs (about £41,125). Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 52), who visited the town, says it was six farsakhs distant from Isfahān.

The city of Ray (Rhages) was ruined during the Mongol invasion. Mustawfi says that in the time of Ghazan Khān the houses were in part rebuilt, but Varāmīn [3] had already supplanted it and become the chief town of the province. The Shrine of the Imām-Zādah 'Abd-al-'Aẓīm<sup>1</sup> was to be seen near Ray, as mentioned in the Itinerary (Route ix), and the castle which was called Ṭabarik lay at the foot of the hill of Kūh Ṭabarik to the north, where there are said to have been silver-mines (L. 205<sup>t</sup>). Of this castle, however, apparently no trace exists, though the Shrine of Shāh 'Abd-al-'Aẓīm is still a famous place of visitation. Mention is made of the river Kardān-rūd, which waters the Ray Districts, thence flowing out to the desert; and some other lesser streams are also named as coming down from the Kharraḳān District; also the Jāij-rūd from Damāvand and the river Garm-rūd or Kūh-rūd of Sāuj-Bulāk (L. 216<sup>v</sup>, x, and 217<sup>r</sup>, v, x, but cf. *Jihān Numā*, p. 304). The great mountain of Damāvand rose to the north of Ray, visible from a distance 100 leagues away, and of its many marvels

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise called Husayn, a son of the eighth Imām, 'Alī-ar-Riḍā. Ṭabarik is also the name of the Castle of Isfahān, which, according to 'Alī of Yazd (*Zafar Nāmah*, i, 431), was occupied by Timur, and of which the ruins still exist. The foundation of Kal'ah Ṭabarik of Ray is ascribed by Zahir-ad-Dīn (Dorn, *Muhammedanische Quellen*, i, p. 15 of the Persian text) to Manūchahr the Ziyārid, at the beginning of the fifth century (the eleventh A.D.), and he states that *Ṭabarik* means a 'hillock,' being the diminutive form of *Ṭabar*, signifying a 'hill or mountain,' in the Ṭabaristān dialect. According to Yāqūt (iii, 507), Ṭabarik of Ray was destroyed in 588 (1192 A.D.) by Tughril II, the last Saljūq Sultān of 'Irāḳ, and Yāqūt gives a long account of the siege of the famous castle.



Ḥamd-Allah gives a full account (L. 203z). Ṭīhrān, the present capital of Persia [4], was already in the time of Ḥamd-Allah a fair-sized town, though formerly, he says, a mere village. Both Ray and Varāmīn are now only marked by ruin-heaps lying some distance to the south of Ṭīhrān.

Sulṭāniyah, founded by Arghūn Khān, was completed by Uljaytū, who made it the capital of Īrān; and he was buried here in a magnificent sepulchre, the ruins of which still exist. Ḥamd-Allah has much to say about Ḳazvīn, his native town, with its dependent villages, among which were Dahand, Fārisjīn [5], Sūmghān [6], and Sagsābād [7], lying on the road eastward as named in Routes ix and xxvi. He also describes its many streams, namely, the Khar-rūd, the Būh-rūd, the Turkhān-rūd, the Ḳazvīn river, and the Āb-i-Kharraḳān (L. 217j, q, r, s, t, v, and *Jihān Numā*, p. 305). These streams had their sources for the most part in the Barchīn Kūh and the Rākhid (or Rāhand) mountain (L. 203s and 204n). Abhar [8], on the river of the same name (L. 217g), had a famous castle called Ḥaydariyah, after Ḥaydar its builder, one of the Saljūk princes; and to the north of Abhar on the Gīlān frontier lay the Daylam and Ṭālīsh districts, among which were the towns of Ashkūr, Khawkān, and Khasjān (but the reading of these three last names is very uncertain, and they are not given by other writers, nor are they to be found on the map). The city of Āvah [9], between Sāvah [10] and Ḳum, stood on its river, the Gāvmāhā-rūd, which flows down from near Hamadān in the west to the great dam between Sāvah and Āvah, where it forms a lake (L. 217a).

The Rūdbār district, in which stood the ruins of the famous castles of the Assassins, lay along the course of the river Shāh-rūd, the lowest of the many affluents of the Safid-rūd; and the District was at some distance to the north of Ḳazvīn (L. 215n). The city of Zanjān lay on the Zanjān river, also called the Māj-rūd (L. 217e), which was another affluent of the Safid-rūd; and the town of Zanjān is said by Mustawfī to have been named Shahīn by its first

founder, King Ardashīr Bābagān. The city of Sāvah [10], chiefly remarkable for its lake, which history reported had miraculously dried up at the birth of the prophet Muḥammad, lay on the Muzdakān river (L. 217<sup>n</sup>); and a number of villages are named by Mustawfī in the Sāvah District, of which, however, the readings are uncertain, and they are not to be found on the map. Sāuj-Bulāk, the name of the district round Sunḡurābād [11], meaning 'the cold spring,' is given in some MSS. (e.g., British Museum, Add. 23,543, and Cambridge, Add. 2,624), but this paragraph is omitted in the lithographed text. Under the Mongols it was considered as of the Sāvah Province, though it had originally been counted as of Ray; its villages were Kharāv and Najmābād.

Sujās and Suhravard [12] were before the Mongol invasion important towns according to Iṣṭakhri (pp. 196, 200) and Yākūt (iii, 40, 203); they are now apparently not marked on any modern map, though Sir H. Rawlinson, writing in 1840 (Journ. Roy. Geographical Society, x, 66), speaks of Sujās as a small village then existing, with Suhravard close to it. According to Ḥamd-Allah, Sujās was five leagues distant to the south of Sulṭāniyah (L. 145<sup>h</sup>), and the surrounding districts were called Jarūd and Anjarūd, apparently identical with Ijarūd and Angurān of the present maps. In the hills near Sujās was the grave of Arghūn Khān, of which a long account is given in the *Nuzhat*. The town of Satūrīk [13] lay at the western end of the Anjarūd district, and was celebrated for its palace, rebuilt by Abaḡah Khān, and the lake which was reported to be bottomless. This is the well-known Takht-i-Sulaymān, described by Sir H. Rawlinson (J.R.G.S., x, 65), who would identify this place as the site of the northern Ecbatana. The castle of Sarjahān [14] has disappeared from the map, but it lay five leagues to the east of Sulṭāniyah on the Ṭarum mountain, and Yākūt (iii, 70), who had visited it, reports that it was one of the strongest castles of the district, and from its towers the city of Zanjān was plainly visible.

Šāin Kal'ah [15], which still exists,<sup>1</sup> this being the Mongol name for the Kuhūd village, lay south of the Tārum district, otherwise called the Tārumayn, 'the two Tāruns,' Upper and Lower, of which the capital formerly had been Firūzābād. Of Upper Tārum the chief town was Andar, with many dependent villages; in Lower Tārum the most important place was the Castle of Sumīrān or Shamīrān, of which Yāqūt (iii, 148) gives a long account. The streams of the Tārum districts all flowed into the river Safīd-rūd (L. 217k), and the name of this district (Tārum) is still marked on the map. The Tālikān district, which in the time of Ḥamd-Allah lay to the south-east of Tārum, apparently no longer exists, and the towns of Jarūd, Kūhbūnah, and Karaj, which our author mentions, are no longer to be found. Kāghadh Kunān, 'the Paper Factory,' or Khūnaj [16], was an important place, the position of which is fixed by the Itinerary (Route xx) as south of the river Safīd-rūd and fourteen leagues north of Zanjān, in the district known as the Mughūliyah. Muzdaḳān [17], which gave its name to the Sāvah river, as already mentioned, still exists, also Sāmān [18] at the place where the river rises. The three villages of Ṭabarik, Marjamnūn, and Andijān lay among the hills to the north of Abhar [8], but have apparently now disappeared, and the Pushkil Darrah district was that lying to the east of Ḳazvīn and south of Tālikān.

The holy city of Ḳum was watered by the Gulpaygān river (L. 216z), and between Ḳum and Āvah was the salt mountain called Kūh-Namak-Lawn, a solitary hill, the summit of which was said to be unattainable (L. 206z). The neighbouring city of Kāshān (which the older geographers always spelt Kāshān, with the dotted k) had its water from the Ḳuhrūd hills, the stream flowing to the desert (L. 217m). Ardistān [19], to the south-east of Kāshān, and the Tafrīsh districts, to the westward of Ḳum, still exist, and Dalijān [20] lies about half-way between Kāshān and Gulpaygān [21],

<sup>1</sup> Meaning 'the Castle of Šāin,' possibly called after Šāin, otherwise Bātū Khān, grandson of Chaghiz Khān.

which latter town of old was called Jurbādaḡān. The hamlet of Zawārah [22] lies on the desert border near Ardistan.

Coming to the western side of Persian 'Irāk, the Farāhān District—of which the chief town was Dih Sārūk [23], visited recently by Mrs. Bishop (*Kurdistan*, i, 146)—is the region lying eastward of Hamadān. The chief town here at the present time is Sulṭānābād, founded in the reign of Fath-'Alī Shāh at the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to Ḥamd-Allah there was a lake here, which the Mongols called Jaghār Nāzūd (but the reading is uncertain), which is doubtless the present Lake of Tualā to the north of Sulṭānābād. Dawlatābād was of the Farāhān villages, and this is still an important place lying to the east of Nihāvand. The city of Karaj, called Karaj of Abu Dulaf, has entirely disappeared from the map. Its position is given in the Itinerary (Route vii), and from the fact that the town lay to the south of the Rāsmand mountains, which are those now known under the name of Rāsband, it is easy to locate the site. The streams from these hills watered the celebrated pastures called Marghẓār Kītū (or Kīsū) lying round the town; and its castle was named Farzīn (L. 204*h*). Returning once more to the eastern side of the province, near the desert border was Naṭanz [24], with the castles called Nismūr and Washāḡ, with the District of Marāwadīn, but the reading of these three last names is very uncertain, and with the exception of Washāḡ, which is mentioned in the *Guziduh* (see E. G. Browne, J.R.A.S., 1901, p. 25, n. 4), being also copied into the *Jihān Numā* (p. 299), these names do not occur elsewhere.

In the south-western corner of the province of Persian 'Irāk was Luristān, divided between the Greater and the Lesser Lur districts. Īdhaj, otherwise known as Māl-Amīr [25], was the capital of Great Lur, the district which lay entirely to the south of the great bend of the Kārūn (between its left bank and the plain-country); and Great Lur for the most part had been counted as of Khūzistān by the Arab geographers. Īdhaj was famous for its bridge, and its

whirlpool, and the city has been described by Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 29), who visited this region. The town of 'Arūj, or 'Arūh, otherwise called Sūsān, or Sūs [26], also lay on the Kārūn river, some four leagues to the north-west of Māl-Amīr, and this place must not be confounded with the other Sūs in Khūzistān to the south of Dizfūl. Its ruins have been described by Sir H. Rawlinson, and were visited by Sir H. Layard (see the J.R.G.S. for 1839, ix, 83; also 1842, xii, 103). Lurdagān, or Lurkān [27], is found on the map near the affluent joining the Kārūn at its extreme western point. The district of Lesser Lur was the highland to the north of the great bend of the Kārūn; and in his *Guzidah* Ḥamd-Allah gives the following account of this district, which is worth quoting<sup>1</sup>:—

“In the province of Lesser Lur are three rivers, namely, the Āb-i-Silākhūr flowing down to Dizfūl, the Khurramābād river which goes towards Ḥawīzah, and the Kazki (?) river which also flows down by Dizfūl towards Ḥawīzah. And there are three towns that are still flourishing places, namely, Burūjird, Khurramābād, and Sābūrkhwāst. This last was of old an immense city, extremely populous, being inhabited by people from all nations, for it was the residence of kings: it is now, however, merely a provincial town. Finally, in Lesser Lur are three ruined cities named Kirisht (?), Būrisht (?), and Ṣaymarah.”

The importance of this passage lies in the proof here given that Sābūrkhwāst is *not* identical with Khurramābād, as has been often supposed, since both towns existed in the time of Mustawfī; and the fact is confirmed by his statement in the Itinerary (Route vii) that, bifurcating at Burūjird from the Karaj high road, “the road to Sābūrkhwāst here goes off to the right hand” (L. 195r). The ruins of Sābūrkhwāst [28] have not yet been identified, but they must

<sup>1</sup> The paragraph is given at the end of Section xi of Chapter IV, immediately before the Section devoted to the Mongols. It is wanting in many MSS., but occurs in the old MS. of which I made a copy in Shirāz in 1880, and also is found in the British Museum MSS. numbered Add. 7,630, Add. 22,693, and Egerton, 690.

be sought for some few leagues to the south of Khurramābād [29]. The town of Burūjird [30] is frequently mentioned by Iṣṭakhri (pp. 258, 262) and Yāqūt (i, 596); the Arab geographers, however, appear not to have known of Khurramābād in Lesser Lur, and Ḥamd-Allah is probably the earliest authority to mention this important town. He says that dates grew well both here and at Ṣaymarah [31], the old capital of the Mihrajānkhadhak District; according to Ibn Rustah (p. 269) and Yāqūt (iii, 443), already in the fourteenth century A.D. a ruin. Ṣaymarah is marked on the map at some distance from the western bank of the Karkhah river, but I am unable to identify Samsā (or Samhā) and Diz-i-Siyāh, 'the Black Castle,' which stood near it according to our author. Somewhere in Lesser Lur also was the mountain called Huwayn (or Harīn) Kūh, where there were celebrated iron-mines (L. 207*b*). In regard to the three rivers of Lesser Lur mentioned in the *Guzidah*, these are referred to again in the *Nuzhat* (L. 215*u, v*). Silākhūr is the name of the plain in which Burūjird stands, and its river is the chief source of the Āb-i-Diz; further the Kazkī is apparently the affluent now known as the Āb-i-Baznoi. The Khurramābād river drains to the Karkhah, which Ḥamd-Allah describes as passing through the Ḥawīzah country, and this latter river now joins the Kārūn below Ahwāz, as will be noticed in the chapter on Khuzistān. The Karkhah and its affluents came down from the Alvand mountain (L. 202*p*), lying southward of Hamadān; its peaks were almost always covered with snow, and forty-two streams take their rise in this region, which, says Mustawfi, measures thirty leagues in circumference.

Hamadān city, when Ḥamd-Allah wrote, was for the most part in ruin; it included five townships, Qal'ah Kabrīt—'Sulphur Castle'—Qal'ah Mākin, Girdlākh, the Qishlāk or 'Winter Quarters' of Shujā'-ad-Dīn Khūrshīd, and Kūrasht. The surrounding province comprised five other Districts with many villages, namely, Farīvār (or Karīwār), Azmādīn (or Azyārdīn), Sharābīn (or Sharāmīn), A'lam, with Sardrūd and Barbandrūd (or Barhanarūd). None of

these names appear on the present map (those given in parenthesis are from the Turkish text of the *Jihān Numā*, p. 300); but Farivār was watered by the upper affluent of the Gāvmāhā or Gāvmāsā river (already mentioned), which rose in the hills of Asadābād [32] to the north-west of the city (L. 217*a*).

The places called Māja'lū and Tamsār appear to be unknown, but the two districts of Kharraḳān (marked Karaghān on our maps) are those lying to the south-west of Qazvīn, towards which and out eastward to Ray the Kharraḳān streams took their course (L. 217*v*), as already described. The chief town in the Kharraḳān District is Ābah [33] or Āvah (not to be confounded with Āvah near Sāvah, already mentioned), and there were besides forty other villages. The Darguzīn District lies between Kharraḳān and Hamadān, Darguzīn [34] being also the name of the chief town of the district, and this formerly had been included in A'lam, one of the five Districts, as already mentioned, of Hamadān, which, says Ḥamd-Allah, by the Persians was called Alāmar. Rūdarūd or Rūdrāvar [35] was a large town, the ruins of which still exist at Rūdīlāvar (*Mission Scientifique*, De Morgan, ii, 136), near Tuvī and Sarkān. These ruins probably also represent the older town of Karaj of Hamadān, which, according to Yāḳūt (ii, 832; iv, 251), was the capital of this Rūdarūd district, and lay seven leagues distant both from Hamadān and from Nihāvand. Here were the five Districts named from the rivers Hind-rūd, Sarkān-rūd, Karzān-rūd, Lamī-rūd, and Barazīnahin respectively.

Sāmān of Kharraḳān, at the headwaters of the Muzdaḳān river, has already been mentioned. Shabdabahar and Fūlād (the readings are uncertain) are districts no longer shown on our maps, but which probably lay near the city of Nihāvand; and this last, Mustawfī writes, comprised three Districts, named Malāir, Isfīdhān, and Jahūk, which, however, are likewise not to be found on modern maps. Coming finally to the south-eastern corner of the province of Persian 'Irāk, Ḥamd-Allah notices the cities of Yazd, Maybud [36], and Nāyīn [37], which, as he rightly remarks, were formerly

counted as belonging to Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis), and hence were of the province of Fārs.

### *Chapter 3. Adharbayjān.*

Contents: Tabrīz, 153*p*, and its seven districts, viz., Mihrān-rūd, Sard-rūd, Sāvil-rūd, Arūnak, Rūdkab, Khānum-rūd, and Bidūstān, 155*e*; Awjān, 155*v*; Tāsūj or Tarūj, 156*a*; Ardabil, 156*c*; Khalkhāl and Fīrūzābād, 156*k*; Dārmāraz, 156*s*. The Shāhrūd district, 156*t*; the Pīshkīn district, 156*w*; Unār and Arjāk, 157*a*; Ahar, 157*d*; Takallafah and Jiyār, 157*f*; Darāvārd, 157*h*; Kal'ah Kahrān, 157*j*; Kalantar, 157*k*; Kilān-Faḍlūn, 157*m*; Murdān Na'im, 157*n*; Naw-Diz, 157*o*; Maft, 157*s*; Khuvī or Khoi, 157*t*; Salmās, 157*x*; Urmīyah, 158*b*; Ushnūyah, 158*g*; Sarāv, 158*k*; Miṣyānīj and the Garm-rūd, 158*n*; Marāghah, 158*q*; Pasavā, 158*x*; Dih Khwārkhān, 158*z*; Laylān, 159*b*; Marand, 159*c*; Dizmār, 159*h*; Zanjiyān, 159*l*; Rīwaz, 159*m*; Karkar, 159*n*; Nakhchivān, 159*o*; Akhbān and Urdūbad, 159*r*.

Ḥamd-Allah notes that the capital of Adharbayjān under the earlier Mongols had been Marāghah, but this pre-eminence had in his day been transferred to Tabrīz.<sup>1</sup> A very full account is next given of Tabrīz, beginning with its early history, and how it had recently been rebuilt and enlarged by Ghāzān Khān. Details follow of the new walls, with the ten city gates, also of the outer suburb and wall, with its six gates. Tabrīz, according to Ḥamd-Allah, was the largest city in Persia; it was watered by the river Mihrān-rūd, which rose in the Sahand mountain lying to the south, and round the city lay the seven districts (given above) called for the most part after the various streams which irrigate their lands (the reading of these

<sup>1</sup> The Arab geographers generally give Ardabil as the capital city; and this became also the capital of Persia under the earlier Safavī kings, until Shāh 'Abbās removed his court to Isfahān.



names, however, is in many cases very uncertain). The Mihrān-rūd, which ran through the suburbs of Tabrīz, and the Sard-rūd to the south-west, which also came down from Mount Sahand, both joined the Sarāv-rūd at a short distance to the north of the city; and this latter river, which rose in the great mountain district called Sablān-kūh to the north-east of Tabrīz, flowed out into the Urmīyah Lake, some forty miles away to the westward of the city. The mountains of Sahand and Sablān, as also these various streams, are all carefully described by Ḥamd-Allah in Appendices II and IV (L. 204*ir*, 205*h*, 217*c*, 218*e, f*).

The Urmīyah Lake appears to have been known to Ḥamd-Allah under the name of the Lake of Khanjast,<sup>1</sup> but the origin of the name is nowhere explained. He also frequently refers to it as the Salt Lake (Daryū-i-Shūr), or as the Lake of Ṭarūj or Ṭasūj, from the name of the town near its northern shore; and he writes that in an island of the lake the Mongol Princes had their burial-place under a great hill (L. 226*f*). The town of Awjān, or Ujān [1], which Ghūzān Khān had rebuilt, lies to the east of Tabrīz, and its river, which rises in Mount Sahand, joins the Sarāv-rūd (L. 218*a*). Ṭarūj [2] or Ṭasūj,<sup>2</sup> which sometimes gave its name to the Urmīyah Lake, lay close to its northern shore, and to the west of Tabrīz.

Ardabil lay at the foot of Mount Sablān, on the river Andarāb, also called the Ardabil river; this, after passing the Bridge of 'Alī-Shāh, became an affluent of the Ahar

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. vary greatly as to the spelling of the name; *Janjast*, *Janjish*, *Khujant*, and *Hanjast* appear with other variants. The mediæval Arab geographers knew of the lake also under various names: thus Mas'ūdī (i, 98) and Ibn Ḥawqāl (p. 247) call it the Lake of Kabūdihān, Iṣṭakhri (p. 181) writes of the Buhayrab-ash-Sharāt, and in Muḥaddasī (p. 380) it is called merely the Lake of Urmīyah. Abu-l-Fidā (p. 42) knows it as the Lake of Tilā; and according to Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (MSS., folio 27*a*) the island in the middle of the lake (now the Shāhī peninsula, which only becomes an island at flood-water: see R. T. Günther. *Geographical Journal* for 1899, p. 516) was crowned by the castle known as Qal'ah Tilā, said to have been built by Hülāgū Khān. He had stored his treasures here, and after his death his tomb was made in this castle, which henceforth was called Gūr-Qal'ah, or 'Tomb-Castle.'

<sup>2</sup> Both spellings are given in the MSS. and occur on the present maps. In the map to the paper referred to in the previous note, Mr. Günther gives the name as Turseh.

river, which last flowed into the Aras (L. 217*v*). Above Ardabīl, on the slopes of Mount Sablān, stood the Castles of Diz Bahmān and Diz Rūyīn (or Rūbīn) with some others (L. 204*v*). Khalkhāl is still the name of the District at the foot of Mount Sablān; in the time of Mustawfī it was also the name of its chief town [3], but this has apparently disappeared. The town, according to Yāqūt (i, 198) and the Itinerary, was two days' march from Ardabīl. In former times Fīrūzābād had been the capital of the Khalkhāl District, and Mustawfī mentions a number of the neighbouring villages (Amidah, Khāmidah-Bīl, Sanjad-rūd, and Zanjilābād), but none of these unfortunately are now to be found on the map. Dārmaraz, with the villages of Kūl, Jāmkū, and Zāhar, was of this neighbourhood. Shāhrūd was the District on the stream called the Āb-Shāl, an affluent of the Safīd-rūd (L. 218*h*). Of this district the chief places were Shāl [4] and Kulūr (which still exist), and adjacent lay the Tālīsh (or Tawālīsh) District of 'Irāk 'Ajamī. Pīshkīn (which in the present maps is written Mishkīn) is the name of the District of which Ahar [5] was the chief town; the town of Pīshkīn also existed, and formerly was known as Varāvī, lying one march from Ahar. A number of other places were of this district, among them Takallafah, Unār, which with Varāvī is described by Yāqūt (i, 367; iv, 918), also Arjāk, Jiyār, and Kalantar, this last being at the foot of the hill called Siyāh Kūh, 'the black mountain' (L. 205*k*). Most of the other places in Pīshkīn here mentioned must have stood on the southern slopes of the Sablān mountain (L. 204*v*), though only the last named, Kalantar, now appears on the map, Ibn Pīshkīn being the family name of the Amir of the Province.

The city of Ahar [5] lay on the river of the same name (the Ahar-rūd). This flowed down from the Pass of Armīnān, which the Mongols called Gūlchah Nīl (Blue Lake), and after taking up the Ardabīl river discharged into the Aras (L. 217*y*; see also Route xxiii). To the north of Ahar was the mountain called Sarahand (L. 205*e*), and in the neighbourhood at the foot of Mount Sablān stood the

following places, namely, Darāvard, where the Mongols had their winter quarters, the Castle of Kahrān, Kīlān-Fadlūn, and Māft (some MSS. have Yāft, and Bāft is printed in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 385). Murdān Na'im apparently lay to the northward of Ahar, on the Aras river. The castle of Naw-Diz (surrounded by the towns of Hūl, Būl, Hinduvān, and Bulūk-Injū) stood on the upper waters of the Ahar river and is described by Yāqūt (iv, 822). The city of Khuvī [6], or Khoi, stands on an affluent of the Aras which rose in the mountains to the north of Salmās [7]. This latter city, as well as Urmīyah [8], which now gives its name to the Lake, and Ushnūyah [9], all lie at some distance to the westward from the shore, standing on streams that flow into the Lake. The town of Sarāv [10], otherwise written Sarāt or Sarūb, lies under Sablān Kūh in the midst of four Districts, these are named by Mustawfī Warzand, Darand, Barāghūsh, and Saḵhīr; its stream has already been mentioned as the most important of the rivers flowing through Tabriz.

Miyānah or Miyānij [11], formerly a large town, but when our author wrote a mere village, stands in the Garm-rūd or 'Hot River' district. At some distance above the town the river Garm-rūd, which rises in the mountains south of Sarāv, joins the left bank of the Miyānij river, and this last below the town further receives the water of the Hasht-rūd—'Eight Streams'—on its right bank, which, before flowing in, passed under a great bridge of thirty-two arches, and had its source in the hills to the eastward of Marāghah (L. 218*h*, *n*, *q*; also *Jihān Numā*, p. 388). The Miyānij river itself came down from the west, rising in the country south of Ujān; after receiving the streams of its two affluents, it turned northward at no great distance from the town of Miyānij, and poured its water into the Safid-rūd, which from this point, and down a considerable length of its lower course, formed the boundary between the provinces of Adharbayjān and Persian 'Irāk. The Safid-rūd—'White River'—which Mustawfī says the Turks called Hūlān Mūlān (evidently a corruption

of the Mongol words *Ulan Mören*), meaning 'Red River,'<sup>1</sup> had its head-waters in the Kurdistān province in the Jibāl Panj Angusht, called in Turkish Besh-parmak, both names signifying the 'Five-finger-mountain.' Flowing northward, the Safīd-rūd first received the Zanjān river (already mentioned in Chapter 2) on its right bank, then the Miyānij rivers on its left bank, and, next turning westward, received also on its left bank the united streams of the Sanjīdah and Gadīv-rūd (given in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 388, as Sanjad and Kadpū) coming down from the hills to the south of Ardabīl (L. 218f), the position of which river is fixed by the Itinerary (Route xx). Below this, and also on the left bank, there flowed in the Shāl river<sup>2</sup> from the Shāhrūd District, already spoken of in a previous paragraph. After passing through the Ṭālīsh district, the Safīd-rūd was next joined on its right bank by the Ṭārum river, and then by the river Shāh-rūd of the Country of the Assassins, both of which streams have already been mentioned in Chapter 2, and finally in Kawtam of the Gīlān Province the Safīd-rūd flowed out to the Caspian (L. 215c).

Marāghah, one of the former capitals of the province of Adharbayjān, stood on the river Šāfī-rūd, which, rising in Mount Sahand, flowed out directly, or indirectly by overflowing into the bed of the Jaghtū-rūd, into the Urmīyah Lake (L. 218g). The city of Marāghah was famous for the Observatory built by the order of Hülāgū Khān for Nāṣir-ad-Dīn of Ṭūs, the astronomer, but in the time of Ḥamd-Allah this building was already in ruins.<sup>3</sup> The districts of Marāghah are given as Sarājūn, Niyājūn, Dazakh-rūd, Gāvḍūl, Hasht-rūd, Bihistān, Angūrān, and Kūl Uzān

<sup>1</sup> Part of its course is now known as the Kizil Uzen, which in Turkish has the same meaning. For the Mongol words see *Mongolisch-Deutsch Wörterbuch*, by J. J. Schmidt, pp. 52b and 223c. From this and other passages, it is clear that Mustawfī uses *Mughāl* (Mongol) and *Turk* indifferently.

<sup>2</sup> This stream is now called the Shāhrūd, like the great right bank affluent from the mountains north of Kāzvin, with which it must not be confounded.

<sup>3</sup> These are described by General Schiudler in the Berlin *Zeitschrift für Erdkunde*, 1883, p. 338, and a plan is there given.

but the spellings are uncertain. Basawā [12] or Pasavā will be found on the map to the south-east of Ushnūyah, and Dih Khwārkān [13], on a stream from Mount Sahand, lies near the eastern shore of Lake Urmīyah. Laylān [14]—the MSS. generally spell the name Naylān—is on the Jaghtū river, which, side by side with the river Taghtū, both rising in the Kurdistān hills, flows into the lake from the south. At periods of high flood the waters of the rivers Šāfi, Taghtū, and Jaghtū all mingle together in the swamp formed at the south-western corner of the Urmīyah Lake (L. 218*b*, *p*).

The town of Marand [15] lies to the north of the lake, and its river, which is also called the Zūlū, is a tributary of the Khoi (or Khuvī) river, which flows to the Aras (L. 218*l*). To the northward of Marand lay the castle of Dizmār, on a tributary of the Aras, which Yākūt (ii, 573) has also described. Zanjiyān or Zangiyān [16] stood near the bridge over the Aras called Pūl-i-Khudā Āfarīn, and this was counted as of the Murdān Na'im district mentioned above. In this neighbourhood also appears to have been the town of Rivaz—some MSS. give Zathūr and Dīvaz, with Zanūz in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 387). Karkar [17] is mentioned by Yākūt (iv, 262), and is possibly identical with the fortress named Ḥiṣār Karni (from a mistake of the copyist) by 'Alī of Yazd; it stood close to the great bridge over the Aras, built by Ḍiyā-al-Mulk, son of Malik-Shāh's Wazīr, the celebrated Nizām-al-Mulk. 'Alī of Yazd describes this bridge at some length (*Zafar Nāmah*, i, 399), and it crossed the Aras on the direct road from Nakhchivān to Marand.

Nakhchivān [18], which the Arab geographers called Nashawā, lies to the north of the Aras, and four leagues from the city was the snow-clad mountain of Māst-Kūh (L. 206*r*). The fortress of Alanjīk, according to Saint Martin (*Mémoire sur l'Arménie*, i, 146), was called Erenjag in Armenian, and lay a short distance to the east of Nakhchivān. Mustawfi also speaks of Shūrmāri, Naghaz, and Faghān as fortresses of the Nakhchivān District; and probably likewise of this

neighbourhood was Akhbān (or Ajnān), known as the Kār-khānah or 'Workshop,' on account of the works at the neighbouring copper-mine. Urdūbād [19] stands on the Aras, at the junction of a stream from the north, which Mustawfī says rises in Mount Kiyān (or Kibān), and on this same river higher up lay Azād, the last town mentioned in this chapter.

#### *Chapter 4. Mūghān and Arrān.*

Contents : Bajarvān, 159z ; Barzand, 160f ; Pīlvār, 160j ;  
Maḥmūdābād and Hamshahrah, 160k ; Baylaḳān, 160n ;  
Ganjah, 160p ; Barda'ah, 160s ; Hīrak, 160v.

Mūghān or Mūkān is still the name of the Steppe country lying south of the lower course of the Aras river. Ḥamd-Allah states that this district stretched from the right bank of the river southward to the pass of Sang-bar-Sang—'Stone upon Stone'—in the hills above Pīshkīn, and that from the plain the mountain of Sablān Kūh was everywhere visible. As of this province he also mentions (L. 206k) the region called Gulistān Kūh—'Rose-garden mountain'—noted for its flowers, and here the Mulāḥid sect or Assassins had their famous paradise. Bajarvān had of old been the capital of Mūghān, but in the time of Mustawfī was fallen to ruin and become a mere village. It is no longer found on the map, but its position is given in the Itinerary (Routes xx and xxiii) as lying four leagues north of Barzand [1], which still exists, and which was a notable town as early as the days of the Caliph Mu'tasim, son of Hārūn - ar - Rashīd. Pīlvār [2] or Pīlsuvār (not marked on any map) stood on the stream coming from Bajarvān, and was eight leagues distant from the latter town. It is said to have been named after an Amīr of the Buyids. Maḥmūdābād [3] in the plain of Gāvbārī, near the Caspian, according to the Itinerary (Route xxi) was twelve leagues beyond Pīlvār. Hamshahrah lay two leagues distant from the sea-shore ; it

was also called Bū-Shahrah or Abar-Shahr, according to the *Jihān Numā* (p. 393), but it is impossible now to fix exactly the position of any of these places, which appear to have completely disappeared from the modern maps.

The territory of Arrān, which the Arab geographers always spell Al-Rān (pronounced Ar-Rān), as though it were an Arabic name, is the triangle of land included between the rivers Aras and Kūr—the Araxes and Cyrus. The Aras is described (L. 213*b*) as rising in the Kālīkalā mountains near Arzan-ar-Rūm (now Erzerum), whence it flows through Armenia and along the southern border of Arrān to its junction with the Kūr, having been previously joined from the south, or right bank, by the Kāra Sū, the name, apparently, of the lower course of united streams which flow down from Ardabīl and Ahur described in Chapter 3. The river Kūr (L. 215*y*) also rose in the Kālīkalā mountains, and passing through Gurjistān came to the city of Tiflis. Below this town it formed the northern frontier of Arrān, and Hamd-Allah states that here a branch went off to the Lake of Shamkūr, though what sheet of water is thus indicated is not very clear. Thence the main stream of the Kūr passed on down to its junction with the Aras, the combined streams flowing out to the Caspian after passing through the Gushtāsfī country.

The capital of Arrān was Baylaḳān, at the close of the fourteenth century A.D. frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd in his account of the conquests of Timur. During his siege the city was partially destroyed, but was rebuilt in 1403 A.D. by command of Timur, and a canal dug, six farsakhs long, bringing to it the waters of the Aras river (*Zafar Nāmāh*, ii, 543, 545). Though apparently all traces of the town have disappeared, its approximate position is fixed by the Arab Itineraries of Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 122), Ḳudāmāh (p. 213), and Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 251). According to these Baylaḳān lay fourteen leagues south of Bardhā'ah, and seven or nine leagues north of the Aras bank, on the road coming up from Barzand. In Armenian it was known as Phaidagaran (Saint Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*,

i, 154). Bardhā'ah [4], a town that still exists, the name being more often written Barda', stood on the river Tartur, a right bank affluent of the Kur; and Ganjah to the north-west is now more generally known as Elizabetpol, its Russian name. Sīrak, or Hīrak, was the name of the summer pastures above Barda', but it is not now found marked on our maps, and in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 392) the name is printed Tark.

### Chapter 5. *Shīrvān*.

Contents: Bākūyah, 159s and 161a; Shamākhī, 161a; Kābalah, 161c; Fīrūzābād or Fīrūzqubād, 161d; the Gushtāsfī District, 161e.

The province of Shīrvān lay to the north of the Kur river, and extended to the foot of that part of the Caucasus range known to Moslem geographers as Darband-i-Bāb-al-Abwāb—'the Barrier of the Gate of Gates.' Bākūyah, or Bākū, was its port on the Caspian, and Shamākhī inland—now called Shemākhā—was the capital city, famous, as Mustawfī relates, from the legendary Rock of Moses and the Fountain of Life, both of which were said to have existed here. Kābalah stood near the mountains; its position is unknown, but from its mention by 'Alī of Yazd (i, 406) when describing the campaigns of Timur in Georgia, it must have stood very near the river Kur, and the Kābalah mountain is also mentioned by Mustawfī (L. 206d). Fīrūzābād, or Fīrūz-qubād, both names being given by Yāqūt (iii, 928, 929), was a town standing in the neighbourhood of the Caspian, though its position cannot be more exactly fixed. The Gushtāsfī province, said to have been so named after Gushtāsf, one of the ancient Persian kings, formed part of Shīrvān, and lay along the shore of the Caspian above the mouth of the Aras river.



*Chapter 6. Gurjistān and Abkhās.*

Contents: Alān, 161*k*; Ānī, 161*m*; Tiflīs, 161*n*; Khunān, 161*p*; Kars, 161*p*.

In the district of Abkhasia Alān is given by Mustawfi as the name of a town lying under the Alburz Mountains on an affluent of the Kur. Ānī was the ancient capital of Georgia, the ruins of which still remain; but Tiflīs had become the chief city of the province already in the time of Ḥamd-Allah. Khunān (reading uncertain, Janān, Khabān, and Ḥabān, all being given in the MSS.) was the name of a castle on the Arrān frontier. According to Muḥaddasī (p. 382) and other Arab geographers this town lay half-way between Shamkūr and Tiflīs, being three marches from either place. Kars, to the south-west of Tiflīs, was already a town with a strong fortress when Ḥamd-Allah wrote.

*Chapter 7. Rūm.*

Contents: Sīvās, 161*y*; Abulustān and Anḳurah, 162*a*; Arzanjān, 162*b*; Arzan-ar-Rūm, 162*e*; Arāk, 162*j*; Aḳsik, 162*l*; Āḳ Sarāy, 162*l*; Āḳ Shahr, 162*n*; Amāsiyah, 162*o*; Antākiyah and Awnik, 162*q*; Bāburt, 162*s*; Zūfarlū and Zūbarkī, 162*t*; Dhūlū, 162*u*; Kharbirt, 162*v*; Shahrāh, 162*w*; Samsūn, 162*w*; Shimshāt, 162*x*; ‘Amūriyah, 162*z*; Kālīkalā, 163*b*; Karā Ḥiṣār, 163*e*; Kaṣtamūniyah, 163*g*; Kūmanāt, 163*h*; Kūniyah, 163*j*; Kayṣariyah, 163*s*; Kāt, 163*v*; Kamākh, 163*w*; Gūl, Kīr, and Baḳīj, 163*x*; Lūlūah, 163*y*; Malaṭiyah, 163*z*; Nigdah and Niksār, 164*e*; Hūshyār, 164*d*; Yalḳān Bāzār, 164*f*; Zamandū, 164*g*; Kīrshahr, 164*h*; Kadūk and Tamaraghāch, 164*j*; Ziyārāt Bāzār, 164*k*; Agrūdūr and Kawāk, 164*l*; Kūsh Ḥiṣār and Sivri Ḥiṣār, 164*m*; Ḳulūniyah, Gustakī, and Malanḳūbiyah, 164*n*.

The kingdom of Rūm, Asia Minor, was at the time when Mustawfi wrote divided among the dynasties of the Ten Amīrs, who had succeeded to the inheritance of the Saljūqs

in these parts, and their history has been fully discussed by Professor Lane - Poole in the pages of this Journal (1882, p. 773). Unfortunately, the Arab geographers afford us but little information about Asia Minor, which, during the earlier centuries of the Abbasids, had of course formed part of the Byzantine empire, and which only came within the boundaries of Islām when occupied (470 A.H.) by the Saljūks of Rūm in the latter part of the eleventh century A.D. The next two centuries (the sixth and seventh of the Hijrah) were the period of magnificence for these Saljūks in Asia Minor, after which their power rapidly waned before the rising glory of the Ottoman Turks, whose Sultan, 'Orkhān, in the early part of the fourteenth century A.D. had established his capital at Brusa, had organized the famous corps of the Janisaries, and, after taking Nicomedia in 1327 and Nicæa in 1330, was threatening the Hellespont.

This was the state of affairs when Mustawfi wrote, and which is described by his contemporary Ibn Baṭūṭah, who travelled over the length and the breadth of Asia Minor during the year 733 (1333 A.D.). The description of Asia Minor given by Mustawfi, however, evidently dates from an earlier period, and gives an account of the country as it was under the Saljūks; he knows nothing of the later conquests of the Turks, and the most western town, apparently, that he mentions is Gūl Ḥiṣār, 120 miles south-west of Anṭākiyah. More than one-half of the places mentioned in this chapter of the *Nushat* can easily be identified on the modern map; but unfortunately, among some fifty place-names, I am unable to fix either the position or the true reading for nearly a score of towns, and neither Ibn Baṭūṭah nor Ḥājjī Khalfah are of much aid in the matter.

The *Jihān Numā* of the latter author quotes little of the *Nushat* in the chapters devoted to Asia Minor, and the *Jihān Numā* describes the country as it existed in the days when Ḥājjī Khalfah wrote, namely, at the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D., when all Asia Minor had for nearly three centuries formed an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. Further, the information which Mustawfi gives

about the towns that he names is very meagre, and the alphabetical order, in which for the most part these names are arranged, unfortunately fails to give the clue which we should have were the towns mentioned according to the various districts, or province by province.

The chief city of the Kingdom of Rūm was Sīvās (Sebasteia), which had been rebuilt by 'Alū-ad-Dīn Kay-Kubād the Saljūk. Its wool was famous and was largely exported. Abulustān is now known as Al-Bustān, and is the mediæval Arabissus. Anḡurah (written with the dotted *k* and short vowel) is Angora; but the name, as Yāqūt (i, 390) states, is more generally written Angūrīyah (with *g* or *k*, and long vowels), under which form it frequently occurs in the *Zaḡfar Nāmāh* of 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 417 and elsewhere). Arzanjān on the upper Euphrates and Arzan-ar-Rūm (Erzerum) need no comment, being well known. Arūk also lay near the Euphrates, but it is not apparently marked on the map; neither is Aḡsik to be found, but the readings in both cases are doubtful. Āḡ Sarāy—'White Palace'—is some distance to the south-west of the Tatta Lake; it was built by 'Izz-ad-Dīn Ḳilij-Arslān the Saljūk in 566 (1171 A.D.).

There were two places called Āḡ Shahr—'White Town'—one lying seven leagues north-west of Arzanjān; the other a town three marches to the north-west of Ḳūniyah, and both are marked on our maps. Amāsiyah (Amaseia on the Halys) and Antūkiyah (Antiocheia) still exist. Awnīk or Avanik is given by Yāqūt (i, 408), and 'Alī of Yazd (i, 691) mentions it as having been stormed and captured by Timur; it being a castle in the mountains eight leagues distant from Arzan-ar-Rūm. Mustawfi adds that the town at the foot of the castle was called Abashkūr; and according to Saint Martin (*Mémoire*, i, 109) Avanik is the place now called in Turkish Javān Ḳal'ah, which lies to the north of the Aras between Ḥasan Ḳal'ah on the west and Majankird on the east. Bābirt lies to the north of Arzanjān, but I am unable to identify Zūfarlū, Zūbarkī, Dhūlū (or Zūlū), and Shahrah, which last is reported to have

stood on the coast of the Black Sea; the spelling, however, of the first three names is very doubtful, and apparently none of them occur in the pages of the *Jihān Numā*, or in any of the earlier geographers. Kharbirt, or Kharput, is near the junction of the eastern Euphrates or river Arsanās, on which stream, but higher up, lay Shimshāt (see I.S. 57). Samsūn was already a celebrated port for shipping on the Black Sea; 'Amūriyah (Amorium) still exists (Mustawfi, apparently by some error, states that the name was then pronounced Ankūriyah, which, as already noted, is Angora). Kālīkalā was a city in the country of this name, near the Armenian frontier (see I.S. 64), which has generally been identified with the Byzantine city of Theodosiopolis on the upper Euphrates, otherwise called Karin.

Karā Hīṣār—'Black Fort'—was the name of diverse castles, four of which were especially celebrated. One (apparently not marked in our maps) was on the mountains near Kayṣariyah; another was of the district of Kūniyah (probably the Karā Hīṣār lying south-west of 'Amūriyah); a third castle of this name stood near Nikdah, while the fourth Karā Hīṣār is that lying a short distance north-east of Āk Shahr and belonging to the Arzanjān district. Kaṣṭamūniyah lies some distance west from Samsūn; and Kūmanāt is one of the many towns called Comana by the Greeks. Kūniyah is the older Iconium; here the castle had been built by Sultān Kīlij Arslān of cut stone, and in like material great city walls were erected by 'Alā-ad-Dīn Kay-Ḳubād the Saljūq; Kūniyah further was celebrated for the tomb of the Ṣūfī saint and poet Jalāl-ad-Dīn Rūmī.

Kayṣariyah (Caesareia Mazaka) still exists, but Kāt (or Kāb) is apparently not to be found on our maps. Kamākh (or Kamkh) on the Euphrates is well known (I.S. 48), and Gūl is probably Gūl Hīṣār to the south-west of Anṭākiyah, which was visited by Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 269), but the double town called Kīr and Bakīj I am unable to identify. Lūlūah is in the Cilician passes north-west of Tarsus, and Nikdah (or Nigdah) lies to the north of it. Malaṭīyah is Melitene near

the Euphrates (I.S. 48), and Niksār stands a short distance south-east of Samsūn and Amāsiyah.

Hūshyār (which is not mentioned in the *Jihān Numā*) is said to have been the Castle of Karamān, better known as Larandah, the capital of the Karamān province on the borders of Little Armenia. Yalkān Bāzār (not marked on our maps) was a town between Kūniyah and Āk Shahr, celebrated for its hot springs; and Kīr-Shahr, frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 418 and elsewhere), stands half-way between Ankūrah and Kayşariyah. Zamandū, Kadūk (or Kadūl), and Tamar Aghāch (or Tūr Aghach) I am unable to identify, and the names do not occur in the *Jihān Numā*. Ziyārat Bāzār is possibly the town of Ziyārat to the south of Kharpūt. Agrīdūr is the town at the southern end of the lake of this name; it is mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 266), also by 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 485). Kavāk probably is the place of this name lying a short distance to the west of Sīvās. Sivri Hīşār is the well-known city, north of 'Amūriyah, to which, according to 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 448), Timur marched in six stages from Angora. Neither Kulūniyah (Colonia) nor Kastaķī occurs in the *Jihān Numā*, nor is either apparently to be found on the map, for both are said by Mustawfī to lie on the shore of the Black Sea.<sup>1</sup> Kūsh Hīşār, however, exists, standing to the south of Kaşamūniyah, and Malankūbiyah, which is referred to by Yāķūt (iv, 635), lies east of Kūniyah, and is the ancient Malacopeia.

<sup>1</sup> Kulūniyah of the Arab geographers is generally identified with Colonia, founded by Pompey as described by Procopius, which the Armenians call Aghovendzor, or Goghonia, and which lies about 60 miles north-west of Kamkh. See Saint Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*, i, 189.

Chapter 8. *Armenia.*

Contents: Akhlāt, 164*t*; Abtūt (or Abtūk) and Arjīsh, 164*v*;  
 Armūk, 164*x*; Alātāk, 164*y*; Būrkīrī, 164*z*; Bayān, 165*b*;  
 Kharādīn, 165*c*; Khūshāb, Jaramrast, and Lūkiyāmāt, 165*d*;  
 Hangāmūbād, 165*e*; Salam and 'Ayn, 165*f*; Kabūd and  
 Malāzgird, 165*g*; Vān and Vastūn, 165*j*; Valāshgird, 165*m*.

The Arab geographers unfortunately afford us but meagre accounts of Armenia, and though 'Alī of Yazd in his description of the campaigns of Timur enables us to identify some of the outstanding names, Hājji Khalfah in the *Jihān Numā* proves of little service. Hence, out of the list, as given above, it has been only possible to identify a third of the places named.

Hamd-Allah remarks that this country is divided into Greater and Lesser Armenia; but that with Lesser Armenia (otherwise Cilicia), of which the capital was Sis, he does not deal in detail, for this formed no part of Īrān. The great lake which is the central feature of the country, now called Lake Vān, Hamd-Allah describes (L. 226*j*) under the name of the Arjīsh or Akhlāt Lake, from what were then the two chief towns on its borders. It was celebrated for the fish called *Ṭirrikh*, with which its waters, that were salt, abounded. Our author also speaks of the modern Gūkchah Lake under the name of Buḥayrah Gūkchah Tangīz, meaning in Turkish 'the Blue Lake' (L. 226*k*). It lay on the Adharbayjān frontier of Armenia, and its waters were sweet and good for drinking; the Gūkchah Tangīz is also frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd (*Zafar Nāmah*, i, 414, 415; ii, 378).

The town of Akhlāt, at the north-west corner of the Vān Lake, was then the capital of Armenia and produced revenue to the amount of 50,500 dīnārs (about £12,500), and above Akhlāt to the eastward rose the great mountain of Kūh Sībān, now called Sībān Dāgh (L. 205*l*). Neither Abtūt, 'a fine town,' nor Armūk is apparently marked on the map; but Arjīsh is still found at the north-west end of the lake. Alātāk

is described as a good pasture-ground, where Arghūn Khān had built himself a Saray or palace for his summer quarters; it is the mountainous region now known as Ala Dāgh to the north and north-east of the lake, and is frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd (I.S. 417, 421, 685); further, Timur kept his standing camp here during the Georgian campaigns. In the neighbourhood is the town of Band-Māhī (Fish Dam), one stage to the eastward of Arjīsh (see Route xxv) on the Arjīsh bay of Lake Vān. Khūshāb lies at some distance to the south-east of the Vān Lake.

The places named Bayān (or Nabār), Kharādīn (Kharāvīn or Jazāvīn), Jarmarast (Jarvarīb or Harsarbat), Lūki-yāmāt (Tūmānāt), Hangāmābād, Salam (Shalam), 'Ayn, and Kabūd, are none of them to be found in Yāqūt, though many of these names are copied into the *Jihān Numā* (p. 418) without comment; they have apparently also disappeared from the map, and the readings are in most cases uncertain. Malāzjird lies on the upper course of the western Euphrates, due north of Lake Vān: the city of Vān itself is near the eastern end of the lake, and Vastān lies on its southern shore. The exact position of Valāshgird is doubtful; but Yāqūt (iv, 939) mentions a town of this name as situated near Akhlāt, though none is now shown on the map.

### *Chapter 9. Jazīrah or Upper Mesopotamia.*

Contents: Mosul, 165*p*; Irbil, 165*s*; Arzan and Āmid, 165*t*; Bāṣaydah and Bāṭarnūh, 165*v*; Barṭallā, 165*w*; Jasār, 165*x*; Bawāzīj and Jazīrah Ibn 'Omar, 165*y*; Ḥānī and Siwān, 165*z*; Harrān, 166*a*; Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Khābūr, 166*c*; Rās-al-'Ayn, 166*f*; Raqqah, 166*g*; Ruhā and Sa'īrd, 166*o*; Sanjar, 166*p*; Sūq-ath-Thamānīn, 166*t*; 'Akar, 166*u*; 'Imādiyah, 166*w*; Karkīsiyā, 166*x*; Karmalīs and Mardīn, 166*y*; Mūsh, 167*c*; Mayāfāriḳayn, 167*e*; Naṣībīn, 167*f*; Nīnavī, 167*l*.

The upper part of Mesopotamia is known either as Jazīrah, 'the Island,' or else as Diyār-Bakr and Diyār-Rabī'ah,

meaning the Lands of Bakr and Rabi'ah, the two Arab tribes which had settled in these parts before the Moslem conquest. Diyār-Rabi'ah is the south-eastern half of the province, with Mosul for capital; Diyār-Bakr being the north-western part, with Āmid for its chief town. Mosul on the Tigris was the largest city of the Jazīrah province; but Irbil (Arbela), to the eastward, standing half-way between the banks of the two Zābs, was a place of great importance. The Upper or Greater Zāb rose in the mountains of Armenia and flowed down to join the Tigris at Ḥadīthah<sup>1</sup>; while the Lower or Lesser Zāb, called also Majnūn, 'the mad river,' because of its swift current, rising also in Armenia joined the Tigris at the hill of Sinn (L. 214j). In many of the MSS.<sup>2</sup> Arzan or Arzanah is next described, an important town standing on a left bank affluent of the Tigris, and its ruins still exist.

Āmid is the chief place of Diyār-Bakr (and the town is often called by the name of the province); it stands on the Tigris to the westward and higher up than the inflow of the Arzan river. The towns of Bāṣaydah and Bāṭarnūḥ I am unable to identify<sup>3</sup> (the latter name being variously given in the MSS. as Bāzarnūkh, Bāṭahbūj, etc.), but from its position in the alphabetical order, the first syllable is apparently Bā—the Syriac form of *Bayt* or *Beth*—so common in the place-names of this region. Barṭallā is mentioned by Yāḳūt (i, 567), and still exists about sixteen miles to the eastward of Mosul, but it is difficult to identify the town called Jār or Jasār, and the reading is probably corrupt. Bawāzīj, though it has disappeared from the map, is mentioned by Yāḳūt (i, 750), and from his account we learn that it stood near the mouth of the Lower

<sup>1</sup> Not to be confounded with Ḥadīthah on the Euphrates, mentioned in Chapter 1.

<sup>2</sup> British Museum MSS., Add. 7,708, 16,737, and 23,543. Not to be confounded with Arzan-ar-Rūm, otherwise Erzerum. In the *Ẓaḡar Nāmah* (i, 665) the name is spelt Arzīn.

<sup>3</sup> Unless for Bāṣaydah we read Bāṣabdah, which might be merely another way of spelling Būzabdā (as the name is given by Yāḳūt, i, 466), the well-known town on the eastern bank of the Tigris opposite Jazīrah Ibn 'Omar, which had been the Roman fortress of Bezabda.



Zāb, and not far from the hill of Sinn. Jazīrah Ibn 'Omar is a town on an island in the Tigris above Mosul (see I.S. 34), and Hānī, to the north of Āmid, according to Yāqūt (ii, 188), was celebrated for its iron-mine. What place Sitwān or Siwān represents is not clear, but the reading is not improbably corrupt.

Harrān, with its castle of cut stone, founded, it was said, by Arphaxad, son of Shem, lay near the sources of the river Balikh, which joined the Euphrates at Raqqah (L. 219j). Ḥiṣn Kayfā is an important fortress on the Tigris, lying due south of Arzan (I.S. 264). Khābūr is the name of some town on the Khābūr river, on which stood Rās-al-'Ayn, and the Khābūr river, after taking up the Hirmās, joined the Euphrates at Karkīsiyā, or Circesium. Raqqah, the ancient Callinicus, stands on the Euphrates, above the junction of the Balikh river (I.S. 50), near the famous battlefield of Siffin. Ruhā, or Edessa, is described in many of the MSS.,<sup>1</sup> and some details are given of its wonderful churches. Sū'ird (south of Bitlis) was famous for its manufacture of copper pots and cups. Sinjar stood on the mountain side overlooking the Tharthār river, this last being a branch stream from the Hirmās river, which, flowing eastward, joined the Tigris at Takrīt (L. 219o).

Sūk Thamānīn—'Market of the Eighty'—records the settlement of that number of the companions of Noah when, according to Moslem tradition, the Ark came to rest on Jabal Jūdī. This Sūk Thamānīn is not found on the maps, but Mount Jūdī is known, and in his Itinerary Muḥaddasī (p. 149) reports that this town lay one march distant (west) of Jazīrah Ibn 'Omar, and Abu-l-Fidā (p. 275) says that Thamānīn lay to the north of 'Imādiyah. 'Akr, signifying 'a castle,' constantly recurs in place-names; the castle here intended is doubtless 'Akr-al-Ḥumaydiyah, mentioned also by Yāqūt (iii, 696), which is marked on the map some thirty miles to the south-east of 'Imādiyah. This last, a town of considerable size, is said by Mustawfi to have

<sup>1</sup> Those cited above, and others.

taken its name from 'Imād-ad-Dawlah the Buyid (brother of Mu'izz-ad-Dawlah), who died in 338 (A.D. 949). According to Ibn-al-Athīr (xi, 60), however, 'Imādiyah had its name from 'Imād-ad-Dīn Zangī, Lord of Mosul, who had founded the town in 537 (A.D. 1142). Not far from 'Imādiyah is Karmalīs, of the Mosul district, also mentioned by Yāqūt (iv, 267), which will be found to the south of Bartallā. Karkīsīyā stands on the Euphrates at the junction of the Khābūr (I.S. 51). Mardīn was famous for its castle, and the Sūr river which irrigated its gardens flowed thence northward to join the Tigris (L. 219*p*). Mūsh stands near the upper waters of the Arsanas or eastern Euphrates, Mayāfarīkayn lying south-west of it, and on a left bank affluent of the Tigris. Naşibin or Nisibis, celebrated for its roses and venomous scorpions, is on the Hirmās river, which forms the chief affluent of the Khābūr (L. 219*m*); lastly, Nineveh (Nīnavī), opposite Mosul on the Tigris, was famous for the shrine shown here of the prophet Yūnus or Jonah.

#### Chapter 10. *Kurdistān.*

Contents: Alānī, 167*q*; Alīshtar and Bahār, 167*r*; Khuftiyān, 167*s*; Darband Tāj Khātūn and Darband Zangī, 167*t*; Darbīl, 167*u*; Dīnavar, 167*v*; Sulṭānābād Jamjamāl, 167*w*; Shah-razūr, 167*y*; Kirmānshāh, 168*a*; Kirind and Khūshān, 168*f*; Kangavar, 168*h*; Māyidasht, 168*k*; Harsīn, 168*l*; Vastām, 168*m*.

The description of *Kurdistān* given by Mustawfī (which Ḥājji Khalfah has copied almost verbatim into his *Jihān Numā*) presents a number of small problems which I find myself unable satisfactorily to solve. *Kurdistān*, or the Land of the Kurds, is not mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers, and it appears to have been first erected into a separate government under the Ṣaljūqs, who, in the time of Sulaymān Shah, divided it off from the rest of the Jibāl Province, which they called Persian 'Irāk, as explained in Chapter 2. Sulaymān Shāh, under whose rule *Kurdistān* appears to have flourished greatly, surnamed Abūh (or

Ayūh) was the nephew of Sultan Sinjar, who had appointed him governor of this province, and Sulaymān Shāh at a later date—that is, from 554 to 556 (1159 to 1161 A.D.)—became for a short time the Saljūḳ Sultan of the Two ‘Irāqs, and chief of his house.

Alānī (thus in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 450, though some MSS. read Alūbī) was one of the chief towns of the province of Kurdistān, but no trace of it is to be discovered on the present maps, it is mentioned apparently by no other geographer, and is not marked in the Itinerary. At Alishtar (the next town named by Mustawfi) there was an ancient Fire-temple called Ardahish (or Arakhash), and Alishtar [1] would appear to have been some town in the well-known plain of this name, still so marked on our maps. This town is possibly that given in Ibn Hawḳal (p. 259), and others, as lying ten farsakhs south-west of Nihāvand, being twelve leagues north of Sābūrkhwāst. The older geographers, however, spell the name Lāshtar, and the MSS. of the *Nuzhat* give every variety of reading for this name—such as Alisht, Al-Bashr (so in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 450), Alishar and Basht—so that the identification given above is more than doubtful; and in regard to the Fire-temple I am at a loss for any further references.<sup>1</sup>

The town of Bahār [2], with its castle, which Ḥamd-Allah reports to have been the capital of Kurdistān in the days of Sulaymān Shāh, lies some eight miles to the north of Hamadān. Khuftiyān (given as Khunyān, Huḳhān, Jufbān, and Khaysān, with diverse other readings in the MSS., the form Ḥaḳshiyān being printed in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 450) is difficult to identify; it was a fine castle, according to Ḥamd-Allah, that stood on the bank of the Zāb river (but

<sup>1</sup> On his march from Tustar to Shīrāz, Timur, according to ‘Ali of Yazd (i. 600), after crossing the Āb-Shirīn, camped on the Plain of Lāshtar, and two days later coming to the river of the Sha‘b Bavvān valley, halted at Basht. Both places will be found on the modern map, and naturally suggest themselves as possible alternatives, one or other, for the town of Kurdistān mentioned by Ḥamd-Allah; but unfortunately both would appear to be out of the question, and too far south (being well within the boundary of Fārs) ever to have been counted as of Kurdistān. The *Jihān Numā*, as usual, merely copies the *Nuzhat* without comment.

whether Upper or Lower Zab is not stated), being surrounded by many villages.

The towns of Darband (Pass of) Tāj Khātūn and Darband Zangī, also, are neither of them marked on the map; Darband Tāshī Khātūn, however, is frequently referred to by 'Alī of Yazd (i, 585, 599, 640) in his account of the marches of Timur through Kurdistān. Dirbīl, or Dizbil, 'a medium-sized town,' likewise is not found either on the map or in the works of the earlier Arab geographers; the spelling, however, is most uncertain, the MSS. giving Darsil, Wazpal, etc., with some other variants.

Dīnavar, the ruins of which have been described by De Morgan (*Mission en Perse*, ii, 95, 96), was still, when Mustawfī wrote, a fine town, and produced excellent corn crops. The ruins of Jamjamāl [3] are marked on the maps as lying due east of Kirmānshāh and south of Bīsūtūn [7], this position (for there are other villages of the same name) being confirmed by the distances given in the Itinerary (Route ii); and our author states that this place, called more especially Sultānābād Jamjamāl, was at one time the capital of Kurdistān, and that it was founded by Sultan Uljaytū the Mongol. The city of Shahrāzūr [4] is to be identified with the ruins at Yāsīn Tappah, in the present plain of Shahrāzūr. The town was known to the Persians as Nim-Rāh—'Half-way'—that is, lying half-way between the ancient Fire-temple at Madāin and the Temple on the Adharbayjān frontier at Satūrīk (already mentioned above in Chapter 2), which Sir H. Rawlinson has identified with Shīz of the Arab geographers (see J.R.G.S., x, 65).

Kirmānshāh, which the Arabs called Qirmīsīn, was celebrated for the sculptures in the neighbouring mountain of Bīsūtūn. Kirind [5] and Kūshān were two villages at the head of the Hulwān pass; the name of Kūshān has now apparently disappeared from the maps, though Kirind remains; and this latter in the time of Mustawfī was the less important place of the two. Kanguvār, which the Arabs called Kaṣr-al-Luṣūṣ—'Robbers' Castle'—according to our author had been built with stones taken from the ancient

site at Bīsūtūn. Māyidasht, or Māhidasht, is still the name of the great plain watered by the Kirind river; and Harsin [6], the name of a castle and town, lies some miles south-east of Kirmānshāh. Finally, Vastām [7], or Bastām, is apparently the hamlet near the present Tāk-i-Bustān, at the foot of the Bīsūtūn hill, for it is described as a large village lying over against the great Achæmenian sculptures, which represent, according to the Persians, King Khusrū Parvīz and his horse Shabdīz, with Queen Shīrīn, and these Mustawfī carefully describes in his account of the Bīsūtūn mountain (L. 203*f*).

### *Chapter 11. Khūzistān.*

Contents: Tustar, 168*p*; Ahwāz, 169*e*; Tarb, 169*e*; Junday Shāpūr, 169*g*; Hawīzah, 169*j*; Dizfūl, 169*l*; Daskarah, 169*q*; Rāmhumuz, 169*r*; Sūs, 169*t*; Tarāzak, 169*w*; 'Askar Mukram, 169*x*; Masrukān, 170*a*.

Before noticing the towns in this province it will be well to summarize such information as is given by Ḥamd-Allah about the rivers which flow out to the Persian Gulf by separate mouths or through the tidal estuaries of the Shatt-al-'Arab. The chief stream of Khūzistān is the Kārūn, which Mustawfī and the older geographers call the Dujayl (or Little Tigris) of Tustar. This had its source in the Zardah Kūh—'the Yellow Mountains'—of Great Lur, where also the Zandah-rūd of Isfahān had its head-waters (L. 204*q*, and see Chapter 2). The Dujayl river, after many windings, flowed down past Tustar to 'Askar Mukram and Ahwāz, where it was joined by the Dizfūl river, and their united streams poured into the broad estuary of the Shatt-al-'Arab (L. 214*e*), which went out to the Persian Gulf. The Dizfūl river, which joined the Kārūn below 'Askar Mukram, was formed by the united streams of the Kazkī river and the Āb-i-Ḳaw'ah (or Ḳar'ah), which last, flowing down from

Burūjird (see above, Chapter 2), was also named the *Silākhūr* (L. 215*u*). Further to the westward came the Karkhah, also called the river of *Sūs*; this rose in the Alvand mountains; it was soon joined by the river *Kūlkū*, also by the stream from *Khurramābād*, and thence flowing down past *Sūs* to the *Hawīzah* country came to the tidal estuary of the *Kārūn*, by which its waters, uniting with the overflow of the Tigris and Euphrates, finally reached the sea (L. 216*c*, also *Jihān Numā*, p. 286).

The boundary between *Khūzistān* and *Fārs* was formed by the river *Ṭāb*, which is the name that *Mustawfī* and all the Arab geographers give to the river called at present the *Jarrāhī*; the modern *Ṭāb* river (flowing past *Hindiyān*) being presumably the mediæval *Āb-i-Shīrīn*, but there is some confusion in the present nomenclature. The *Ṭāb* river (of *Mustawfī* and the Arab geographers) rose in the *Saram* hills in *Luristān*, it was soon joined by the waters of the *Āb-i-Masin* which came down from the *Sumayram* mountains, and the united streams some distance below the point of junction were crossed by the great bridge of *Rakān* near *Arrajān*. After watering the *Rīshahr* districts the *Ṭāb* finally flowed out to the sea (L. 218*s, u*); and these places will all be more particularly mentioned in Chapter 12 on *Fārs*.

*Khūzistān* was coterminous on the north with *Kurdistān*, these two Provinces coming in between Arabian and Persian *‘Irāk*, though *Ṣaymarah*, counted as of the latter (see Chapter 2), must have been very near the frontier of *‘Irāk ‘Arabī*. When *Mustawfī* wrote the capital of the *Khūzistān* Province was *Tustar*, already then commonly called *Shustar*, famous for the great weir across the *Kārūn*, which at the city gate divided the stream into three parts, called respectively the Canals of *Dasht-Ābād*, of *Dū-Dānik*, and of *Chahār-Dānik* (Two Sixths and Four Sixths). *Ahwāz* has already been noticed in my paper on *Ibn Serapion* (p. 311). The town of *Turb* (or *Tūb* according to some MSS.), on the sea-shore, I cannot identify, but apparently it occupied more or less the position of *Bāsiyān*, so frequently

mentioned by the earlier geographers. The ruins of Junday Shāpūr [1] exist at the village of Shāhābād, lying half-way between Dizfūl and Tustar; the town was famous for its sugar-canes, as also was Hawīzah [2], lying to the east of the lower Kārūn, which town, Mustawfī writes, was inhabited mainly by Sabæans. Dizfūl—'Bridge of the Diz river'—was anciently called Andāmish, from the name of the bridge of forty-two arches which here crossed the Diz river. This Bridge of Andāmish is mentioned by Ibn Hawkal (p. 259) and other earlier geographers whom Yāqūt (i, 372) has quoted (see also Ibn Serapion, p. 312, and 'Alī of Yazd, i, 589); its remains still exist (De Bode, *Luristān*, ii, 163).

Daskarah (or Dastgīr) was on the 'Irāk border, according to Yāqūt (ii, 575), and possessed a strong castle, but its exact position is difficult to fix. Rāmihurmuz [3], the name of which, says Mustawfī, was already corrupted to Rāmiz, lay near the frontier of Fārs; Sūs [4], 'the most ancient city of Khūzistān,' was famous for the tomb of the prophet Daniel, and its ruins stand near the Karkah river some few miles south-south-west of Dizfūl (De Bode, ii, 186). For Sūs some of the MSS. give the spelling Sūsīn, but probably from the scribe having confused this Sūs with the town of a similar name in Luristān, already mentioned in Chapter 2. Ṭarāzak (or Ṭarārak, as given in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 284) cannot unfortunately be identified; it was famous for its excellent sugar-canes. 'Askar Mukram [5], the ruins of which are at Band-i-Kīr (see I.S. 312), Mustawfī reports was also known by the Persian name of Lashkar or 'Camp'; and somewhere higher up on the Masrukān stream [6] was the town of this same name, the site of which has apparently disappeared from the modern maps.

*Chapter 12. Fārs.*

Contents: Shīrāz, 170*u*; Coasts of Abu Zuhayr and of 'Umārah, 171*w*; Būshkānāt, 171*y*; Tawwaj, 171*z*; Khabr, 172*a*; Khatizīn, 172*b*; Khunayfghān, 172*c*; Ramzavān, Dādhīn, and Davān, 172*f*; Sarvistān and Kūbanjān, 172*g*; Sīrāf, Najīram, and Khūrshī, 172*h*; Šimkān and Hīrak, 172*k*; Fīrūzābād, 172*o*; Karzīn, Kīr, and Abzar, 172*w*; Kāriyān and Karān of Irāhistān, 172*y*; Kavūr, 173*b*; Lāghir and Kaharjān, 173*e*; Mandastān, 173*g*; Mīmānd, 173*k*; Hūmū and Hamjān Kabrīn, 173*l*; Huzū and Tānah, 173*n*; Ištakhr and its three Castles, 173*o*; Abraj, 174*f*; Abarqūh, 174*g*; Farāghah, 174*m*; Isfandān and Kūmistān, 174*o*; Iqlīd and Uzjān, 174*p*; Surmaḳ, 174*q*; Buvvān and Marūst, 174*s*; Baydā, 174*t*; Harīr, Abādah, and Sabzivār, 174*w*; Hafrāk and Qālī, 174*x*; Khurramah, 174*y*; Rāmjird, 174*z*; Māyin, 175*a* and *j*; Sāhik and Harāt, 175*b*; Kuṭruh, Kūmishah, and the Castle of Kūlinjān, 175*c*; Kāmfrūz, 175*e*; Kirbāl, 175*f*; Kamīn and Kārin, 175*g*; Kallār and Kūrad, 175*h*; Yazdikhwāst, Dih Girdū, Shūrīstān, and Abādah, 175*l*; Dih Mūrd and Rādhān, 175*m*; Jahram and Khūrshah Castle, 175*o*; Juvaym of Abu Aḥmad and Samīrān Castle, 175*q*; Fasā, Shaḳḳ Rūdbār, and Mīshānān, 175*s*; Nashāvar, 175*x*; Kāzīrūn, 176*a*; Shāpūr City, 176*h*; Anbūrān and Bāsht Kūṭā, 176*o*; Bilād Shāpūr, 176*q*; Tīr Murdān and Jūbkān, 176*r*; The Jilūyah Mountains, 176*u*; Jirrah, 176*w*; Gumbadh Mallaghān and Pul-Būlū, 176*y*; Khisht and Kumārij, 177*a*; Khullār, 177*b*; Khumayjān and Dih 'Alī, 177*c*; Salḥat, 177*e*; Šarām and Bāzrank, 177*f*; Ghundiājān, 177*h*; Nawbandajān and Qal'ah Safid, 177*j*; Sha'b Bavvān, 177*n*; Kubād Khurrah and Arrajān, 177*t*; Bustānak, 177*y*; Rīshahr, 177*z*; Hindijān, Khabs, and Furzuk, 178*d*; Jannābā, 178*e*; Jallādjān and Hayvūdīn, 178*f*; Mahrūbān, 178*g*; Sīnīz, 178*l*. The Sixteen Castles of Fārs, namely: Qal'ah Isfandiyār, or Isfid Diz, 178*p*; the Castles of Ištakhr (Persepolis), 178*u*; the Castle of Ištakhr Vār, 179*a*; Abādah, 179*b*; Diz Abraj or Iraj, 179*c*; Tīz or Tabar, 179*d*; Tīr-i-Khudā, 179*g*; Khūrshah, 179*h*; Khurramah, 179*l*; Khuwādān, 179*m*; Khuvār and Ramzavān, 179*n*; Sahārah, 179*o*; Samīrān, 179*p*; Kārzīn, 179*q*; and Gunbad-Mallaghān, 179*r*. The Pasture-lands called Marghazār,



namely: Āvard or Ūrd, 179*u*; Dasht Rūn, 179*w*; Dasht Arzan, 179*z*; Sīkān, 180*b*; Bahz or Bahmān, 180*c*; Bīd Mashkān, 180*d*; Baydā and Shīdān, 180*e*; Kālī, 180*h*; Kālān, 180*k*; Kāmfirūz, 180*m*; Kamīn, 180*n*; and Narkis, 180*o*. The Islands of the Persian Gulf, namely, Kays, 180*r*; Abrūn, 181*d*; Abarkumān, 181*e*; and Khārik, 181*f*.

In the time of the Īl-Khān dynasty Fārs had come to be a much smaller province than it had been during the Caliphate, and as described by the Arab geographers. In the pages of Ḥamd-Allah Fārs has lost the whole of the Yazd district on the north-east, this under the Mongols being given to Persian 'Irāk; while the eastern districts round Dārābjird, having taken the name of Shabānkārāh, had been formed into a separate province, which under this title will be noticed in the following chapter. A long and interesting account is given by Ḥamd-Allah of Shīrāz, the capital of the Fārs province since the Moslem conquest; the nine gates in its walls are enumerated, and its various mosques and shrines are described in some detail. Ḥamd-Allah notes further that the territory immediately adjacent to the city was called its Hūmah (often written *Jūmah* or *Jawmah*), a word that may be translated 'domain.' Two leagues distant from Shīrāz was the mountain called Kūh-i-Dārak, on which the winter snow was stored in pits for use in the hot weather (L. 203*y*); while three farsakhs to the south of Shīrāz was a castle known as Kal'ah-i-Tīz (other readings in the MSS. give Bīr, Tabr, Tīr, Tashīr, etc.), which crowned a solitary hill, on the summit of which was a spring of water (L. 179*d*). Also in the Shīrāz district was the Castle of Khuvār (L. 179*n*), and this place is mentioned by Iṣṭakhri (p. 104) as a small town of the Ardashīr Khurrah district. Yāqūt (i, 199; ii, 480), who copies the account, adds no particulars, and evidently cannot give more exactly the position. Shīrāz has no river, but its waters drain eastward to the salt lake of Māhalūyah (L. 226*c*), which is some twelve leagues in circuit, and lies in the plain a few miles from the city on the left hand of the road to Sarvistān.

The shores of the lake were used for salt-pans, and much salt was exported from Shīrāz to outlying places.

The sea-coast districts of Fārs, known as the A'māl-i-Sif, were divided between the Sif—'Coast'—of the Banī Zuhayr and the Sif of 'Umārah. The positions of these districts are given by Iṣṭakhri (pp. 140, 141) and by Yāqūt (iii, 217), the former region lying near Sīrāf and the latter near the Kirmān border, over against the Island of Kays. The Būshkūnāt district, according to the *Fārs Nāmah* (f. 86a), lay twelve leagues from Ghundiājān towards Najīram. Tavvaj, often spelt Tawwaz [1], had been a celebrated commercial town in early days, but when Mustawfi wrote it was already in ruins. Apparently no traces of it now exist; it stood, however, near the lower course of the Shāpūr river, called the Tawwaj-Āb, and according to Iṣṭakhri (pp. 128, 133) lay about half-way between Kāzīrūn and Jannābah [40].

Khabr [2], somewhat over fifty miles south-east of Shīrāz, exists, and was famous for its castle, called Kal'ah Tīr-i-Khudā—'God's Arrow' (L. 179g). The region of Khatizīn (which some MSS. give as Khayriz or Khatūhar) I am not able to identify; the districts of Ramzavān and Dādhīn lay south of Jirrah. Davān plain, according to the *Fārs Nāmah* (f. 73b), lay six leagues north of Māyin [17]. Khunayfghān [3], which was commonly called Khanāfgān, was to the north of Firūzābād at the sources of the Burāzah river. Sarvistān is near the eastern end of the Māhalūyah Lake; but Kūhjān (or Kūbanjān in the *Fārs Nāmah*) has apparently disappeared from the map. Of Sīrāf, the celebrated port on the Persian Gulf, the ruins still exist, and have been described by Captain Stiffe (J.R.G.S., 1895, p. 166), and according to Iṣṭakhri (p. 34) Najīram lay to the northward of it, Khūrshī (or Khūrāshī) being of its dependencies.

Simkāu [4] lies to the east of Firūzābād (cf. Stack, *Six Months in Persia*, ii, 232), and Hirak was a large village near by. Of Firūzābād, anciently called Jūr, the chief town of the district of the same name, Hamd-Allah gives a long account, mentioning also its castle (L. 179o), called Kal'ah Shahārah, which crowned a height four leagues

from the city. The Firūzābād river was called the Āb-i-Burāzah<sup>1</sup> (L. 219*g*), a right bank affluent of the Āb-i-Zakān (L. 214*z*), which last is by far the most important stream in this part of Persia. The Zakān (or Zhakān; the MS. of the *Fārs Nāmah* always spells the name *Thakān*) is named by Iṣṭakhri (p. 120) and other Arab geographers the Nahr Sakkān, and is the present Kārā Aghāch, which rises at some distance to the north-west of Shīrāz. It flows into the sea a little to the south of Najīram, and in its lower course is now known as the Mand river. The town of Kavār [5] is near its left bank (half-way between Shīrāz and Khabr already mentioned), and after passing Šimkān, not far from its right bank are the towns of Kīr, Kārzīn [6], and Abzar. Kūriyān [7] lies at some distance to the eastward of these places, and Lāghir [8] is mentioned by Mr. Stack (ii, 233), also by Mustawfi in his *Itineraries* (Route xxviii).

Kārzīn had a celebrated castle (L. 179*g*) on a hill overhanging the river bank. Kaharjān or Makarjān apparently lay near Lāghir, and about half-way between this last and Sirāf, on the coast, was the town of Kūrān [9] in the Īrāhistān District, lying adjacent to the Zuhayr coast, mentioned in a previous paragraph and described by Iṣṭakhri (pp. 106, 141, 454). The region of Māndistān was on the coast, and probably the name is connected with the present Mand river, as the lower part of the Kārā Aghāch (Āb-i-Zakān) is called. Mīmand [10] is the chief town of the Nāband district on the coast, to the east of Sirāf, as mentioned by Iṣṭakhri (p. 104), but I am unable to identify Hūmū or Hamjān Kabrīn; many MSS. give Harmūd and Hamjān Kīrtan, and the readings are more than doubtful. The port of Huzū was opposite the Island of Kays; this is the last stage in the Itinerary (Route xxviii) from Shīrāz to the coast; and Tānah (or Tābah) was a village near.

<sup>1</sup> This is the spelling of the *Fārs Nāmah* (f. 79*b*), who says it was so named after the great engineer Ḥakīm Burāzah of the days of King Ardashīr. The MSS. generally give the name as Barārah.

The city [11] of Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis) had been the capital of Fārs before the Moslem conquest. It lay on the banks of the Parvāb or Pulvār river (L. 218r), a left bank affluent of the Kur. In the neighbourhood of Persepolis was a cave in the mountain called Kūh-i-Nisht (or Na'isht), where there were famous sculptures (L. 206v). Iṣṭakhr was celebrated for its three great castles, called the Sih-Gumbadhān—'Three Domes'—which crown the hill-tops to the north of the Marvdasht plain. These were known as the Ḳal'ah Iṣṭakhr, the Ḳal'ah Shikastah—'the Broken Castle'—and the Ḳal'ah Shankavān (L. 178u). Further, there was the Ḳal'ah Iṣṭakhr Yār, or Bār, probably on the hill above Persepolis (L. 179a), where ruins still exist. The remains of the three castles on the hill-tops to the westward, which were famous for their great cisterns, have some of them been visited and described by Morier (*Second Journey in Persia*, pp. 83, 86) and De Bode (*Luristān*, i, 117). Abraj, as the name is spelt in the *Fārs Nāmāh*, often incorrectly written Īraj, appears from Iṣṭakhrī (p. 102) to have been near Māyin [17], and it stood at the base of a hill, on which was a strong castle called Diz Abraj or Īraj (L. 179c). Abarkūh<sup>1</sup> is the well-known town on the frontier of Fārs [12] towards Yazd; and near it was Farāghah (written Marāghah in some MSS., also in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 266), which was celebrated for its cypresses. Uzjān, or Ujān, lies north of Māyin. Not, however, to be found on the map are Isfandān (or Isfidān) and Ḳumistān (or Ḳuhistān), these being all copied into the *Jihān Numā* (p. 266), and near Ḳumistān in

<sup>1</sup> According to Ḥamd-Allah (L. 174g) Abarkūh was remarkable for the fact that no Jew could survive for more than forty days who settled here. Hence these people were not found among the population of the town. Further in Abarkūh stood the tomb of the celebrated saint surnamed Tāūs-al-Ḥaramayn—'Peacock of the Two Sanctuaries,' viz. Mecca and Medina—and it was a known fact that his shrine would never suffer itself to be covered by a roof. However often a roof was erected over the tomb, it was invariably destroyed by a supernatural power, lest the saint's bones should become the object of an idolatrous worship. The same phenomenon is said by Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 113) to be characteristic of the shrine of Ibn Ḥanbal at Baghdad; and Professor Goldziher has some interesting remarks on this subject in his *Muhammedanische Studien* (i, 267).

the mountain there was a mighty cave. Iklīd [13] and Surmaḵ [14] lie to the south-west of Abarkūh. Bavvān (with variants Tavān or Tūmān) and Marūst (possibly Marvdasht) were two villages in the great Persepolis plain, which itself bore the latter name; in the upper, western, part of the Marvdasht plain lay the city of Baydā [15], celebrated for its pasture-lands.

The town of Abādah stood on the northern side of Lake Bakhtigān, and there was a celebrated castle here (L. 179*b*). This town is frequently mentioned by Iṣṭakhṛī (p. 131) and other Arab geographers; it was also known as the village of 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān. Ḥafrak is the district near the junction of the Pulvār river with the Kur, and Ḥarīr was near Lake Bakhtigān. Sabzivār and Qālī (or Fālī) appear to have been famous meadow-lands or Marghzār near the Pulvār river (L. 180*h*). Kharramah [16], also celebrated for its castle (L. 179*b*), is a town to the east of Shirāz near the Bakhtigān Lake at the place where the river Kur flows in. Rāmjird is the district higher up the river Kur—above the plain of Marvdasht—and Māyin [17] is the capital town of Rāmjird.

These districts were all watered by the Kur, of which Mustawfī gives a long account (L. 216*a*). This river rose above Kallār [22], was joined on its right bank by a stream from Sha'b Bavvān, and lower down on the left bank near Persepolis by the Āb-i-Parvāb or Pulvār river (L. 218*r*). In its lower reaches the Kur river was crossed by a number of weirs, each serving to raise a head of water for irrigation purposes. The first dam or weir was that called the Band-i-Mujarrad, an ancient foundation, which was repaired under the Saljūks by their Atabeg, or Governor, in Fārs, the celebrated Fakhr-ad-Dawlah Chāūlī (spelt Jāūlī by Ibn-al-Athir, x, 202), who then gave it the name of Fakhrisṭān. Below this was the 'Aḍudī or Band-i-Amir (*Bendemir* of the poet Moore, in *Lulla Rookh*), built by 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid, and marked in the Itineraries (Route xxxii); this served to raise the waters for irrigating the two districts of Upper and Lower Kirbāl. The lowest of the dams was the

Fuller's Weir—Band-i-Kaṣṣār—at no great distance above the point where the Kur flowed out to the Lake of Bakhtigān. This was the largest of the salt lakes of Fārs, and when Mustawfī wrote was surrounded by populous districts and towns, among which occur the names of Ḥarīr, Abādah, Khayrah, Nayrīz, and Ṣāhik (L. 225*y*). The north-western part of the lake was known as the Buḥayrah Bāsafhūyah (L. 226*e*), and it was celebrated for its fish. Ṣāhik (or Chāhik) and Harāt [19] lay at some distance from the eastern borders of the Bakhtigān Lake, and Kuṭruh [20] is to the south-east.

The most northern town of Fārs towards Isfahān is Kūmishah, protected by the Castle of Kūlanjān. The district of Kām Fīrūz lay on the banks of the Kur river (south of Rāmjird), being celebrated for its lion-haunted forests; and the two districts of Kirbāl, as already said, were on the lower reaches of the same river near the Fuller's Weir (Band-i-Kaṣṣār). Kamīn [21] lies north of Iṣṭakhr, near the Pulvār river, and Kārin was a town near it. Kallār and Kūrad [22] were on the upper waters of the Kur river, and their positions are fixed by Muḥaddasī (p. 458) in his Itinerary, being five farsakhs north of Kām-Fīrūz. Yazdikhwāst [23] and Dih Girdū [24] lie on the road to Isfahān, and in this connection Abādah [25] (which still exists, and is not to be confounded with the town of the same name on Lake Bakhtigān) is mentioned, lying to the east of Dih Girdū. Shūristān, according to the *Fārs Nāmah*, lay half-way between this northern Abādah and Yazdikhwāst, while Dih Mūrd—'Myrtle Village'—called by the Arab geographers Kariyat-al-Ās or Būdanjān, stood by the shore of Lake Bakhtigān, half-way between the southern Abādah and Ṣāhik. Rādhān, according to Iṣṭakhrī (p. 102), lay half-way between Ṣāhik and Shahr-i-Bābak.

In the south-eastern part of Fārs, the town of Jahram [26] is well known, and was famous in the time of Mustawfī for the strong castle, lying five leagues away on a hill-top, called Kal'ah Khūrashah (L. 179*h*). Juvaym [27] of

Abu Aḥmad<sup>1</sup> lies south-east of Jahram, and its castle too was famous, being known as the *Ḳal'ah Samīrūn* or *Shamīrūn* (L. 179*p*). The city of *Fasā* lies north of Jahram, on the border of *Shabānkārah*; *Shaḳḳ Rūdbār* and *Mīshānān* (or *Pīshkānāt* in some MSS.) were of its dependencies, and the castle called *Ḳal'ah Khavādān* (L. 179*m*) was a strong place in the neighbouring district.

*Kāzirūn* lies west of *Shīrāz*, on the road down to the sea. *Mustawfī* gives a long account of the place, which had originally consisted of three towns. In the plain to the east of *Kāzirūn* is the lake which *Mustawfī* calls the *Buḥayrah Mawz*, but the reading of the name is doubtful, both in the *Nuzhat* MSS. and in the text of *Ibn Ḥawḳal* (p. 193), from whom, apparently, he has taken the name of the lake. The ruins of the old city of *Shāpūr* [28] are to be seen at some distance west of *Kāzirūn*, and have been described by *De Bode* (*Lūristān*, i, 214) and others. *Shāpūr* city appears originally to have been known as *Bishāvūr* (for *Bih-Sābūr*). *Mustawfī* gives a long account of the place, and further describes the colossal statue of King *Shāpūr*, which may still be seen in the neighbouring cave. *Anbūrān* was a small town near *Nawbanjān* [29], and *Bāsht Kūtā* (some MSS. give *Māsht Fūtā*) a district in the mountains near, the whole of this neighbourhood being known under the name of *Bilād Shāpūr*, or the *Shāpūr Country*. *Tīr Murdān* [30] was an important place mentioned by *Yāḳūt* (i, 905), and it lay, according to 'Alī of *Yazd* (i, 607), beyond the Valley of *Bavvān* and west of *Karkān*, which is mentioned in the *Itinerary* (Route xxxiii); the place called *Jūbkān* (or *Khūbigān*) and other districts were in its neighbourhood.

The mountain region called *Jabal Jīlūyah* was on the *Lūristān* border, and the name is probably connected with

<sup>1</sup> So named to distinguish it from *Juvaym* [35], one stage to the north-west of *Shīrāz* (see Route xxxiii). This last is sometimes (incorrectly) written *Juvayn*; and in this case must not be confounded either with the city of *Juvayn* in *Sīstān* to the north of *Zaranj* (see Route xvii), or with the *Juvayn District* of *Khurāsān* (see Chapter 17) lying between *Jājarm* and *Sabzīvār*.

the Kurdish Zamm, or tribe, of Jilūyah mentioned by Iṣṭakhri (pp. 98, 113). Mustawfī elsewhere (L. 206*g*) speaks of the mountains called Kūh Gīlūyah, and apparently a neighbouring range was the Kūh Kūshid lying between Fārs and 'Irāk, where of old had lived a dragon slain by King Kay Khusrū, who then built here the Fire-temple afterwards known as Dayr Kūshid (L. 206*o*). Probably of this district also was the mountain of Kūh Mūrjān (or Mūrkhān), in which was a cave, with dropping water, that was considered a talisman (L. 206*t*).

The Āb-i-Ratīn, which rose in the district of Khumāyijān, was an upper affluent of the Shāpūr or Bishāvūr river, the lower part of which was called the Āb-i-Tavvaj, where it passed the city of Tavvaj, or Tawwaz [1], before falling into the Persian Gulf (L. 219*a, f*). The Shāpūr river, up in the mountains, was joined on its left bank by the Āb-i-Jirrah, which, flowing down from the Māṣaram and Ghundijān districts, passes the city of Jirrah [31], which is some miles south-east of Kāzīrūn. Before its junction with the Shāpūr river, the Jirrah river received from the south the combined waters of the Āb-i-Jarshik and the Ikhshīn river, this last being famous for its stone bridge called the Kaṇṭarah Sabuk (L. 219*b, d*).

Gumbadh Mallaghān [32] lay about half-way between Nawbanjān and Arrajān, at the place now called Dū Gumbadān, where there are extensive ruins (De Bode, i, 258). It was famous for its castle, in the district of Pūl Būlū, which "was so strong a Kaḷ'ah that a single man could hold it" (L. 179*v*). Khisht [33] and Kumārij [34] lie on the road down from Shīrāz to the coast, and not far from the banks of the Shāpūr river. Khullār [35], celebrated for its mill-stones, lies about half-way between Nawbanjān and Shīrāz; Khumāyijān, with Dīh 'Alī, being a district to the westward of Khullār. To the north, on the Lūr frontier, came the districts of Sīṣhat (or Salhat in some MSS.), also Bāzrank and Ṣarām, which last Yākūt (ii, 45) gives as Charām. Ghundijān, generally called Dasht Bārīn, was the region in the neighbourhood of Jirrah [31], and here stood the



castle called *Ḳal'ah Dam Darān*, or *Ram Varān*, for the name is variously given in the manuscripts (L. 179n).

*Nawbanjān* [29], more commonly called *Nawbandagān*, had been rebuilt by Atabeg *Chāūlī*; it was renowned for the great White Castle, and for the neighbouring valley called *Sha'b Bavvān*, always counted as one of the four earthly paradises, such was its fertility and beauty. *Isfid Diz*, 'the White Castle,' also called *Ḳal'ah Isfandiyār* (L. 178p), after one of the heroes of ancient Persia, lies two leagues distant to the north-east of *Nawbanjān*, and occupies the summit of a table-mountain; it is accessible by one road only, being on all sides protected by precipices (Macdonald Kinneir, *Persian Empire*, p. 73). At the foot of the mountain fastness was a second smaller castle called *Nishnāk* (*Nishkunān* in some MSS.). Half a century after the time of *Mustawfī*, *Ḳal'ah Safīd* (as it was more generally called) became famous for the siege and sack which it suffered at the hands of *Timur*, as recorded by 'Alī of *Yazd* in the *Zafar Nāmāh* (i, 600).

The *Kūrah* or district of *Ḳubād Khurrah* was one of the ancient divisions of *Fārs*, and according to *Iṣṭakhrī* (p. 125) it was that of which *Kārzīn* [6] was the capital, already mentioned, near the *Zakān* river, on the eastern border. *Arrajān* was the chief town of *Fārs* on the western side, towards *Khūzistān*. It is now a complete ruin, being replaced by *Bihbahān*, which appears to have been founded in the latter half of the fourteenth century A.D., after the time of *Mustawfī*, but prior to the date when *Timur* invaded Persia. In the account of his campaigns given in the *Zafar Nāmāh* (i, 600), the city of *Bihbahān* only is mentioned by 'Alī of *Yazd*, though its river is called by him the *Āb-i-Argḥūn*, that is to say, the *Arrajān* river, as confirmed by the statement of both *Yāḳūt* (i, 193) and *Mustawfī*, who write that *Arrajān* in their day was generally called *Arraghān* or *Argḥān*. Its ruins lie not far from the bank of the (older) *Tāb* river, now known as the *Jarrāhī* (see above, Chapter 11), which separates *Fārs* from *Khūzistān*. At the crossing of the river was the celebrated bridge called

Pūl-i-Takān, which is described by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 134). The ruins of this bridge still exist, also those of a second bridge likewise described by the Arab geographers, and fully noticed in the travels of De Bode (*Lūristān*, i, 297), who, it may be remarked, was the first to identify Arrajān.

According to Ḥamd-Allah there were various castles of the Ismailian sect, known as the Assassins, in the hills above Arrajān. Such were Kaḷ'ah Ṭayfūr and Diz Kalāt, this last being one league distant from the town of Rishahr [36], otherwise called Rīshīr, which lay to the west of Arrajān. Būstānak [37] was the last stage in Fārs on the Khūzistān frontier, as given in the Itinerary (Route xxxiii). Hindijān exists, Ḥabs (also given as Jīs or Khabs) and Furzuk were near Arrajān, but the spelling of these names is not sure, and their exact position is uncertain. Jannābā [40], also called Ganbah, was a celebrated port on the Gulf, the ruins of which still exist; it was originally named Gandāb, or 'the back-water,' by the Persians. The river called the Āb-i-Shīrīn, which rose in the hills called Kūh-i-Dīnār, flowed out to the sea near Mahrubān and is the modern Ṭāb or Zuhrah river. Near Jannābā was the mouth of the Sītadkān or Shādhkān river, which flowed down from the Bāzrank hills (this district has been mentioned above) and the region of Kaharkān (L. 218*v*, *v*). According to Mustawfī, Jallādjan and Hayvūdīn (many MSS. give Hūdvin) were districts near Arrajān; Mahrubān [38] was the port on the Gulf at the frontier of Khūzistān, Sīnīz [39] being the next port down the coast, eastward, and on the other side of the bay opposite Mahrubān.

The river Khwāndān, or Khūbdhān (L. 218*s*), was an affluent of the Nahr Shīrīn, which flows out to the sea near Mahrubān (the modern river Ṭāb, see above, Chapter 11). It rose in the Khūbdhān or Khwāndān hills near Nawbanjān [29], and in its lower course watered the district of Jallādjan already mentioned. There is, however, much confusion in the nomenclature of all these rivers of western Fārs; and this goes back to the descriptions of them given by Iṣṭakhrī and other of the Arab geographers, whose notices do not

tally with the streams as shown on our present maps. This is especially the case with the river called the Āb-i-Darkhīd (or Darkhuvayd), which flowed out of (some MSS. give it as flowing *into*) the Darkhīd Lake (L. 218y, 226d), which lay to the west of Nawbanjān. It was a large river and not easily fordable, but what stream it corresponds to on our modern maps is not very clear, though it may be that now known as the Āb-i-Shūr.

In regard to the celebrated castles of Fārs Ḥamd-Allah states that these had numbered over seventy in ancient times, but that most had gone to ruin with the lapse of time, and sixteen only in his day remained standing. All these have been mentioned in previous pages, when speaking of the various towns or districts to which each belonged, and it is needless to recapitulate them here, the list having been given in the table of contents to this chapter.

Ḥamd-Allah next enumerates the various Marghzārs, the celebrated pastures or meadow-lands of Fārs. That of Āvard (or Urd) was on the road between Isfahān and Shīrāz, near Kushk-i-Zard, two stages south of Yazdikhwāst (see Route xxvii); and the Marghzār of Dasht-i-Rūn (or Ravān) was one stage south of this again, near the Rubāt, or Caravanserai, of Salāḥ-ad-Dīn, whence it extended to the Shahriyār Bridge over the upper course of the Kur river. The Marghzār of Dasht Arzin lay near the lake of that name (L. 226a) on the road between Shīrāz and Kāzirūn; it was noted for the lions who haunted its thickets, and the same remark is added to the notice of the Marghzār of Shikān (Ushkān, Arashkān are other readings of the name) in the district of Juvaym of Abu Aḥmad; in the neighbourhood of which also was the Marghzār of Bahmān. The Marghzār of Bīd and Mashkān appears to have been near Tustar in Khūzistān; that of Baydā was near the town of that name in the Marvdasht plain. No position is given for the Marghzār of Shīdān close to which was 'the Lake of the Marghzār' (L. 226e), but this meadow-land was famous as being one of the four earthly paradises. The Meadows of Kālī (or Fālī or Fūl) were on the banks

of the Pulvār river, where also lay the Marghzār Kālān near the grave of the Mother of King Solomon, as the Moslems have named the Tomb of Cyrus; while further down the Pulvār river were the Kamīn meadow-lands. The Marghzār of Kām Firūz lay along the Kur river, where its thickets were haunted by lions; and lastly, the Marghzār-i-Narkis—'the Narcissus-Meadows'—were between Kāzīrūn and Jirrah.

X The Persian Gulf and its Islands are described by Mustawfi at the end of his chapter on Fārs, and also at a later page (L. 222z) when describing the Seas; further, he gives the distances between the chief islands in his Itinerary (Routes iv and xxviii). Some confusion, however, exists in the names given during the middle ages to the various islands. The Island of Khūrik still bears this name, and lies some forty miles north-west of the modern Bushire. On the road to India, and eighty leagues further down the Gulf, came the Island of Alān (otherwise Lān or Allār), which by the distances must be the present Island of *Shaykh Shu'ayb*. According to Mustawfi and other geographers, between this and Kays came the two islands called *Abrūn* and *Khayn*, and the former is probably that now known as the Hindarabi Island.

The great emporium (Dawlat-Khānah) of Kays, as described by Mustawfi, was the most populous island of the Gulf, and lay four leagues from Huzū on the mainland, where the road coming down from Shirāz reached the coast. From Kays the ships sailed for India, and at the narrows of the Gulf came the great island called *Abrūkamānān* (*Abarkumān* in some MSS. or *Abarkāfān*, with many other variants). *Yāqūt* (iv, 342) calls this *Lāft*, or the Island of the Bani Kawān, and its name was spelt in a variety of different ways: but, undoubtedly, what is now known as the Long Island of Kishm (*Jazīrah Ṭawilah*) is the place indicated. To the east of this came *Hurmuz*, which will be mentioned in Chapter 14 on *Kirmān*; and the island of *Hurmuz* was called *Jirūn* where the city of New *Hurmuz* came to be founded. A neighbouring island,

eyes  
even

however, appears already from the earliest times to have borne the name of Urmūs or Urmūz, recalling the name of Hurmuz. It is mentioned by Hamd-Allah (L. 222z) and many of the earlier Arab geographers, as, for instance, Ibn Khurdābih (p. 62), but what island this Urmūz now corresponds to is not very clear. The island of Jāsik may, from what Yākūt (i, 503) writes, be another name for the great Island of Kishm, and therefore a duplicate name. Besides Jāsik (or Khāsik) Mustawfi mentions (L. 222z) the islands of Kand, Anāshāk, and Lāhur (in the MSS. given as Lādur or Lāwur, and possibly identical with Lān or Lār already given), but these I am unable satisfactorily to identify.

### Chapter 13. *Shabānkārah.*

Contents: Avīg, 181k; Darkān, 181m; Iṣṭahbanān, 181n; Burk, Tārum, Khayrah, Nīrīz, and Mīshkānāt, 181p; Dārābgird, 181r; Kurm and Rūbanz, 181w; Lār, 181x.

What became the province of Shabānkārah under the Mongols, had formed the eastern part of Fārs in the time of the Caliphate, as already stated in the previous chapter. The name Shabānkārah does not occur in the earlier geographers, but the district came in Mongol days to be called after the people who inhabited it, the Shabānkārah being a powerful family settled in these regions during the period of the Saljūq supremacy. They waged successful war against the Saljūq Atabegs — against the Amīr Chāūlī, mentioned in the previous chapter, in particular; and finally after the fall of the Saljūqs these Shabānkārah were left masters of the whole western part of Fārs.

Nearly all the towns named by Hamd-Allah as of Shabānkārah may still be recognized on the present map. The capital of the district was Īg, or Avīg, a strong fortress, with the town of Darkān [1], or Zarkūn, situated at no great distance from it, both places still existing, and further,

being mentioned by the earlier authorities. Iṣṭahbānān [2], which the Arab geographers write variously as Iṣṭabanāt, Iṣbahānat, and Iṣbahbadhāt, is now called Savanūt, lying a short distance north-west of Īg; Nīrīz [3] lies to the east of it, and Khayrah [4] between Savanūt and the shore of Lake Bakhtigūn (see Route xxxi), which, in its south-eastern bay, forms the northern frontier of the Shabānkārah district, and is often called the Lake of Nīrīz. Burk represents the town the name of which is now generally pronounced Forg, and which the Arab geographers wrote Furj. There is, however, the evidence of Muḳaddasī (p. 428) that of old there were here two neighbouring towns, called Furj and Burk, and the latter site is now probably represented by the Castle of Bahram, described by Mr. Stack (*Six Months*, i, 156). Tārum [5] lies on the frontier to the east of Forg; the Mishkānūt (or Māskinūt) district being on the road between Khayrah and Nīrīz.

Dārābgird had been the chief town of eastern Fārs in earlier days; there was near this in the hills a famous pass, called Tang-i-Zinah, commanded by a strong castle. The mountains of Dārābgird (L. 204f) were celebrated for the salt, of seven diverse colours, that was dug out of the mines here, and in the southern part of the country was the mountain called Kūh-i-Rastaḳ, "three leagues in height, like a snow-covered dome," where great serpents abounded (L. 204g). The towns of Kurm [6] and Rūbanz (generally spelt Rūnīz, in error, in the MSS.) lay on the road towards Fasā; the first still exists, and Rūbanz or Rūbanj was the chief town of the Khasū district mentioned by Muḳaddasī (p. 423), the town of Khasū, now to be found on the map, being identical in all probability with the older Rūbanj city. Lār, which is not mentioned by the older Arab geographers, appears to have been a foundation of the Shabānkārah. Mustawfi speaks of it merely as a district (*Viḷāyat*), but his contemporary, Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 240), speaks of "the great city of Lār," celebrated for its five markets, and Ḥamd-Allah adds in his account that the people of Lār were mostly merchants who occupied themselves with sea voyages.

*Chapter 14. Kirmān.*

Contents: Guwāshīr or Bardasīr, 182*e*; Bam, 182*j*; Jīruft, 182*l*;  
 Khabīṣ, 182*n*; Rīghān, 182*o*; Sirjān, 182*p*; Shahr-i-Bābak,  
 182*q*; Narmāshīr, 182*r*; Old and New Hurmuz, 182*t*.

The mediæval Guwāshīr or Bardasīr, as has been shown in a previous paper (J.R.A.S. for April, 1901, p. 284), represents the present city of Kirmān. Mustawfi quotes (in Arabic) an anecdote having reference to the first Moslem conquest of Kirmān, when its inhospitable climate was reported on to Ḥajjāj, the Viceroy of 'Irāk, by the Arab commander. The text is, of course, most unintelligibly transcribed in the Bombay lithographed edition and in most of the MSS.; it will be found, however, given in full by Mas'ūdi in his *Meadows of Gold* (v, 341). Among other matters Mustawfi speaks of the Old Mosque in Guwāshīr, dating from the time of the Omayyad Caliph Omar II; he also refers to the celebrated garden called the Bāgh-i-Sirjānī laid out by the Amīr 'Alī Iliyās, who had removed the capital of the province from Sirjān to Guwāshīr, and who also built the great Castle of the Hill. Further, within the city was also the mosque known as the Jāmi'-i-Tabrizī, founded by Tūrān Shah the Saljūk, this being that used for the Friday Prayer when Mustawfi wrote.

The town of Bam is on the eastern borders of Kirmān; Jīruft, of which the ruins exist at the present Shahr-i-Dak'yānus (see J.R.G.S., 1855, p. 47), lying some distance to the south-west of it, being built on the river called the Div-rūd—'Demon-stream'—from its violent course (L. 219*e*), the stream now known as the Khalīl-rūd. Khabīṣ lies east of Kirmān city near the desert border, and Rīghān or Rikān is south-east of Bam. Sirjān, as I have shown in my paper above referred to, must probably be sought for at the ruins near Faridūn. Sirjān had been the older capital of the Kirmān province, but in the time of Mustawfi, though merely a provincial town, Sirjān was still an important place

with a strong castle, and it only fell to ruin after the days of Timur. Shahr-i-Bābak still exists, in the north-western angle of the Kirmān province; while Narmāshir stands on the desert border on the other side, south-east, towards Makrān.<sup>1</sup>

- ✓ On the south coast of Kirmān lay the port of Hurmuz on the mainland (at the site now marked Minao on the map), but this place, as Mustawfi records, had already been abandoned in his day. The King of Hurmuz, Fakhr-ad-Dīn—or Kūṭb-ad-Dīn, as some MSS. give the name, following in this Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 230)—had migrated with his people on account of the attacks of brigands, and had established his capital for greater safety on the Island of Jirūn, one league distant from the shore (the present Ormuz Island).<sup>2</sup> This transfer of the capital would appear to have taken place in the year 715 (A.D. 1315), though nearly a century later, in the time of Timur, Old Hurmuz, according to 'Alī of Yazd (*Zafar Nāmah*, i, 789, 809), was still an important city. There were mountains in Kirmān (L. 206*h*) where, says Mustawfi, a stone capable of being burnt for firewood existed (doubtless lignite), and this was used for fuel in those parts. To the north-east of Hurmuz on the Balūch frontier were the mountains called the Kūh-i-Kāfs, which are frequently mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers; also in Kirmān was the range named Kūh-i-Kārin, which are the mountains more properly called Jabal Bāriz by the older geographers, but which Yāqūt (iv, 148) had already misnamed, being doubtless the authority used by Mustawfi (L. 205*x*, 206*e*, and cf. Iṣṭakhrī, p. 163, note *d*).

<sup>1</sup> The Bombay Lithograph gives Māshiz for Narmāshir, but the latter reading is that of all the best MSS. and agrees with the statement that it was a town founded by Ardashir Bābagān, for Māshiz is a modern place.

<sup>2</sup> The history of Hurmuz is obscure; the best account of its rulers that I have met with will be found in the *Majma'-al-Ansāb*, an historical work written about the year 743 (A.D. 1343). Of this work our Society possessed a MS., and another copy (Add. MS. 16,696) will be found in the British Museum Library. Dates are unfortunately very generally omitted in the *Majma'-al-Ansāb*, but it gives an account of the Kings of Hurmuz, as also of the Atabeg Chāulī and others, who ruled in Fārs before the advent of the Sunkūri Atabegs, hence it is a valuable authority. For the present state of Hurmuz see the papers by Captain Stiffe in the *Geographical Magazine* for 1874, vol. i, p. 12, and the J.R.G.S., 1894, p. 160.



*Chapter 15. The Desert.*

Contents: Jarmaḡ, 183*b*; Sanīj and the two cities of Ṭabas, 183*c*;  
Kuhbinān, 183*d*; Nih, 183*e*.

The great salt desert of central Īrūn, which is now generally known as the Kavīr (a name of uncertain etymology), is always referred to by Mustawfī by its Arabic name, Mafāzah, meaning 'the wilderness.' He describes it as extending from the village of Sūmghān—which the Mughāls called Āḡ Khwājah, lying a little south of Ḳazvīn—right across Persia in a south-easterly direction, and reaching nearly down to the sea of 'Omān at Hurmuz. The south-western limit of the desert was marked by the towns of Sāvah, Ḳum, Kāshān, Zavārah, Nāyin, Yazd, and thence along the Kirmān and Makrān border to the mountains above the coast. The north-eastern limit of the desert went by Ray along the borders of Ḳūmis and part of Khurāsān, then by Ḳūhistan and Zāvil down to Sistān, and thence to the neighbourhood of Hurmuz.

In the middle of the Great Desert, half-way across on the road going from Nīshāpūr to Isfahān, lay the three villages of Jarmaḡ in an oasis where there were water springs. This oasis, the position of which is fixed by the Arab Itineraries, was visited in 1875 by Colonel Macgregor (*Khurāsān*, i, 91); its chief village is now called Khur, and the district is Biyābānak—'Little waterless place'—by which name it was already known in the seventeenth century, being mentioned by Tavernier in his *Travels* (*Voyages*, i, 769; La Haye, 1718). The position of Sanīj is also fixed by the Arab Itineraries; it was on the Kirmān frontier, half-way between Narmāshīr and Zaranj. While there is no doubt about the position, there is some about the name, which in many MSS. of the Arab geographers may be read Safīd or Isfand in place of Sanīj (cf. Iṣṭakhṛī, p. 228, note *r*), and the MSS. of the *Nuzhat* confirm the doubtful reading.

Ṭabas, on the Sīstān border, will be mentioned in the following chapter; Kuhbinān (the Cobinan of Marco Polo) is on the Kirmān side, and has been visited by Mr. Stack (*Six Months in Persia*, i, 231). Lastly, of the towns mentioned Nih is in Sīstān, as marked on the map. On the extreme north-western border of the Great Desert, not far from the high road going down from Ray to Kūm, lay the mountains called Kūh-i-Kargus—‘the Vulture Hills’—and according to Mustawfī (L. 206*e*) their recesses were the chosen home of the Ibex (*Wa’il*). The Vulture Hills are doubtless the present Siyāh-Kuh—‘the Black Hills’—overlooking the Kavīr, some distance to the east of Kūm.

*Chapter 16. Sijistān or Nimrūz, and Kūhistān.*

Contents: Zaranj, 183*g*; Turshīz, 183*m*; Kishmar, 183*o*; Tūn, 183*s*; Bajistān and Junābad, 183*x*; Dasht-Biyāḍ and Fāris, 184*b*; Birjand, 184*c*; Khūsf, 184*e*; Sākhis or Shakhīn, 184*f*; Zirkūh, 184*g*; Ṭabas Masīnān, 184*h*; Ṭabas Kilakī, 184*m*; Kāyin, 184*p*; Kal’ah Darah, 184*u*; Mumīnābād, 184*v*; Zāvil, 184*w*; Fīrūzkūh, 184*x*; Ghaznayn, 184*y*; Ṭarmīshah, 185*b*; Maymanah, 185*e*; Karnayn, 185*d*.

Sīstān, by the Arabs written Sijistān, was of old called Nīmrūz, meaning ‘Midday,’ a name said to have been given to the province in regard to its position south of Khurāsān. Kūhistān—‘the Mountain-land’—was the north-western part of this country, and in older times it was more often included in the Khurāsān government.

Zaranj, the capital, also known as Sīstān city, was a great place in the middle ages. It was completely destroyed by Timur half a century after the time of Mustawfī, and the extensive ruins of the old town, the name of Zaranj having long since been forgotten, lie some miles to the north-east of Nāshīrābād (or Naṣratābād), the modern capital of Sīstān, near the hamlets of Pishāvarān and Nād ‘Alī. The city of Zaranj lay along the bank of the Siyāh-rūd—‘the Black Canal’—a branch from the Helmund river. The

Āb-i-Hirmand, as Mustawfī spells the name (L. 216s), rises in the mountains of Ghūr, and after passing the fortress of Bust curves round northward to the city of Zaranj, flowing out finally into the Zirrah Lake from the eastward by many mouths and canals. From the north the Zirrah Lake received the water of the Āb-i-Farah, the river which passed the town of Farah, and which like the Helmund also rose in the mountains of Ghūr, in what is now north-western Afghanistan (L. 216t, 226p).

Turshīz was the chief city of the Ḳuhistān province, and near it was the village of Kishmar,<sup>1</sup> famous for the great cypress-trees planted by Zoroaster, as related by Firdūsī in the *Shāh Nāmāh* (Turner-Macan, iv, 1067). Near Turshīz were four famous castles called Ḳal'ah Bardārud, Ḳal'ah Mikāl (or Haykāl), Mujāhidābād, and Ātishgāh ('the Fire-temple'). No town called Turshīz exists, but a district now bears this name, and from the Itineraries given by Iṣṭakhri (p. 284) and others Turshīz, anciently called Turthīth, or Turaythīth, lay one day's march westward of Kundur. Hence the ruins of the city are probably those seen at Firūzābād, near the village of 'Abdulābād; and in any case Turshīz cannot be Sulṭānābād, the modern capital of the Turshīz district, for this lies *east* of Kundur.

Tūn is still one of the chief towns of Ḳuhistān, and according to Mustawfī was originally laid out on a Chinese plan, whatever that may signify. Bajistān [1], of which Yākūt (i, 497) also speaks, lies due north of Tūn; it is to be noted, however, that in the *Jahān Numā* (p. 326) and many of the *Nuzhat* MSS. this name is given as Tanjah, but probably in error. Junābād [2], generally called Gunābād, and which the Arab geographers write Yunābidh, lies north-east of Tūn; it was famous for its two castles, called Ḳal'ah Khwāshir and Darjān (or Darkhān). In the neighbourhood were the mountains called Kūh-i-Gunābād and Kūh-i-Zibad, which are said to be mentioned by Firdūsī (L. 206n). The district of Dasht-i-Biyāḍ lies south of Gunābād and

<sup>1</sup> In Ḳazvinī (ii, 299) printed *Kishm* by mistake: but right in Yākūt (iv, 278).

east of Tūn; its chief town was Fāris [3], now generally called Kal'ah Kubnah, or 'the Old Castle.' Birjand [4] lies at some distance to the south-east of Tūn, and to the west of Birjand is Khūsf [5], a name which the Arab geographers write Khawst; the position of Sākhis (Shāḥīn, Sāhin, and Shakhīn are manuscript variants) appears to be unknown. Zirkūh — 'the Foot-hills' — is the name of a district marked on the map as lying to the eastward of Kāyin; Mustawfī states that it had three towns, namely, Isfadan [6], Istind [7], and Shārakhs [8], all of which may still be found on the map.

During the middle ages there were two cities called Ṭabas, namely, Ṭabas Kīlakī [9], which in the Arab geographers is given as Ṭabas-at-Tamr — 'Ṭabas of the Date' — and Ṭabas Masīnān [10], formerly known as Ṭabas-al-'Unnāb — 'Ṭabas of the Jujube-tree.' From the distances given in the Arab Itineraries it would appear that Ṭabas Kīlakī (or Gīlakī) is the place still marked in our maps as Ṭabas, which lies on the desert border, and this agrees with what is said of the limits of the Mafāzah, or Great Desert, in the previous chapter. The position of Ṭabas Masīnān cannot be exactly fixed, but the evidence of Ibn Hawḳal (p. 335) and the other Itineraries would place it about half-way between Tūn and the other (the present) Ṭabas, which last is often named Ṭabasayn. The city of Kāyin lies east of Tūn, and was noted as the central point of Kūhistān; the Castle of Darah [11] is south-east of Birjand, and Muminābād is the name of the mountainous district to the east of Birjand.

In regard to Zāvil, Mustawfī gives this as the name of a town with its surrounding district, and in the previous chapter he has mentioned Zāvil as lying on the north-western border of the great desert. The name does not occur in Yāḳūt or any of the earlier Arab geographers, but Monsieur B. de Meynard, in a note to his *Dictionnaire de la Perse* (p. 35), quoting the author of the *Mubārīk Shāḥī*, states that Zāvil was a district near Asfuzār (Sabzivār of Herat), and that it was watered by eighty streams on which stood water-mills. Fīrūzkūh — 'Turquoise Mountain' — is

probably the ancient capital of Ghūr, which will be noticed in the next chapter, the exact position of which, in what is now north-western Afghanistan, is unknown. Ghaznayn, otherwise Ghaznah, needs no comment, but I am unable to identify the place written Tarmīshah (Tur'it, Tarmaat, etc., are variants given in the MSS.); possibly it is merely a mistake for, and duplicate of, Turshiz. Maymanah, which the Arab geographers called Yahūdiyah — 'Jew-town' — lies east of Bālā Murghūb, in the north-west of modern Afghanistan; and the city of Kārnayn, celebrated as the birthplace of Layth, the founder of the Saffarids, lies in the desert one march to the north of Khāsh on the river Helmund, according to the distances given by Ibn Ḥawkal (p. 306).

### *Chapter 17. Khurāsān.*

Contents: Nīshāpūr, 185*m*; Shādyākh, 185*u*; Isfarāyin, 186*g*; Bayhaḡ and Sabzivār, 186*l*; Biyār, 186*n*; Juwayn, 186*o*; Jājarm, 186*r*; Khabūshān, 186*u*; Shaḡḡān, 186*w*; Tūs, 186*x*; Kalāt and Jirm, 187*e*; Marīnān, 187*f*; Herāt, 187*h*; Asfuzār, 187*s*; Fūshanj, 187*t*; Mālān and Bākhaz, 187*x*; Bādghīs, 187*z*; Jām, 188*e*; Chaat, 188*g*; Khwāf, 188*j*; Zāwah, 188*m*; Ghūr, Balkh, Tukhāristān, Bāmiyān, and Panjhīr, 188*o*; Jūzjān, 188*t*; Khutlān, 188*u*; Saminjān, 188*w*; Tāyikān, 188*x*; Tālikān, 189*a*; Fāryāb and Kavādiyān, 189*b*; Kālif, 189*d*; Marv Shāhijān, 189*f*; Shaburkān, 189*g* and 190*b*; Abīvard, 189*s*; Khavārān, 189*t*; Khāvardān, 189*u*; Sarakhs, 189*z*; Marv-ar-Rūd, 190*b*; Māraz, 190*e*; Kal'ah Māy, 190*f*.

Khurāsān in the middle ages was far more extensive than is the province of this name in modern Persia. Mediæval Khurāsān extended on the north-east to the Oxus, and included all the districts round Herat which now belong to Afghanistan. On the other hand, the small province of Kūmis, on the northern boundary of the Great Desert, which at the present day is included within the limits of Persian Khurāsān, was of old a separate district, and formed in the time of Mustawfi a province apart.

Ḥamd-Allah divides Khurāsān into four quarters (*Rub'*)

or districts; namely, Nishāpūr, Herāt, Balkh, and Great Marv. Of Nishāpūr city he gives a full account, describing its plan, which had originally been laid out after the fashion of a chess-board, and noting its walls and watercourses. The Arabs had written the name Naysābūr. Mustawfi devotes a paragraph to the great suburb of Shādyākh, which Yāqūt (iii, 228) from his personal knowledge has also described. This had been built, or rebuilt, after the great earthquake of the year 605 (A.D. 1208) which had laid Nishāpūr in ruins; but both suburb and city were again destroyed by the earthquake of 679 (A.D. 1280), and a third city of Nishāpūr was the capital of Khurāsān when Mustawfi wrote. In regard to Shādyākh its ruins still exist some three miles to the east of the modern city (Yate, *Khurāsān*, p. 412).

Nishāpūr had its chief water supply from a stream that flowed down from the mountains to the north-east of the town; and forty water-mills were turned by the stream in the two leagues of its course through the plain after leaving the hills. Five leagues distant from the city, on the watershed of the range dividing Nishāpūr from the Mashhad valley, was a small lake, about one league round, called Buḥayrah Chashmah Sabz—'the Lake of the Green Spring'—recently visited and described by Colonel Yate (*Khurāsān*, p. 353), from which Mustawfi reports that water flowed either way, east and west. Here the Amir Chūpān had built a kiosk on the brink of the spring, of which many wonders are told, and spectres were seen rising from the waters at certain seasons; further, the lake was said to be unfathomable (L. 2261). A great number of streams flowed down from this mountain range to the plain of Nishāpūr, chief among these being the Shūrah-rūd or Salt River, into which at flood times most of the lesser streams ultimately drained, coming from the various sides of the plain. Mustawfi (in part copied by the *Jihān Numā*, p. 328) mentions the names of a great number of these, to wit, the Dizbād river, flowing to the village of this name on the Herāt road, the Āb-i-Saḥr (or Sakhtar), the Khayrūd or Āb-i-Kharū, the

Tūsankān or Tūshkān-rūd, the Āb-i-Pusht-i-Farūsh, the Khajank river, the Āb-i-Farkhak, the Āb-i-Dahr, and the Āb-i-‘Atshābād — ‘Thirst River’ — coming down by the Maydān-i-Sultān, but of which the water-supply so often failed as fully to deserve its evil name (L. 219*q* to 220*b*).

The town of Isfarāyīn [1] in the centre of the plain of this name, at the ruins known as Shahr-i-Bilkis, recently described by Colonel Yate (*Khurāsān*, p. 378), was celebrated for its castle called Diz-Zar, ‘the Golden fort.’ Bayhak was the capital of the great district of the same name lying south of Isfarāyīn, and its ruins lie close to Sabzivār [2], which is the present chief town of this district. Biyār [3] lies on the border of the Great Desert, and is marked as Biyār-Jumand on our maps. Juwayn is the name of the plain south and west of Isfarāyīn (see Route x): its chief town is Fariyūmad, and Mustawfi mentions the hamlets of Baḥrābād, Dāv, Kazrī, and Khudāshah [4]. The city of Jājarm is at the western limit of the Juwayn plain on the river Jaghān-rūd (L. 220*e*); in its neighbourhood is the mountain known as Kūh-i-Shakāk (Sakān, Sitān, etc., are other readings of the MSS.), whence a stream flowed forth from a marvellous cave (L. 205*m*).

Khabūshān, now known as Kuchān, is in the Mashhad valley to the east of Juwayn; the city had been rebuilt by Hūlāgū, and the surrounding district was known as that of Ustuwā. The town of Shakkān (or Shafān) I am unable to identify. Tūs, one of the ancient capitals of Khurāsān, is now a complete ruin; it lies four leagues distance to the north-west of the shrines at Mashhad [5], which last is the modern capital of Khurāsān and means ‘the Place of Martyrdom,’ originally called the village of Sanābād. There lie buried at Mashhad the Imām Riḏā and the Caliph Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, with many other famous personages, their tombs being surrounded by what in the time of Mustawfi had already come to be a large city. In the mountain called Kūh Gulshān near Tūs was a great cavern with a spring welling from its depths, of which many wonders are related (L. 206*m*, and see Yate, *Khurāsān*, p. 351). The

great mountain fastness of Kilāt,<sup>1</sup> with Jirm for its chief city, lies to the north of Mashhad, and is now generally known as Kilāt-i-Nādirī, from the fact of Nādir Shāh having stored his Indian treasure here. This is one of the earliest notices of Kilāt, for it is not mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers, but it became famous in later times, notably after its siege by Timur, as described by 'Alī of Yazd in his *Zafar Nāmah* (i, 323). In 1875 it was visited and described by Colonel Macgregor (*Khurāsān*, ii, 51). The town of Marīnān (the MSS. give Marsūn, Hafarmiyān, and many other variants) was within the limits of Kilāt.

Herāt was watered by the canals of the river Harī-rūd. It had a famous castle called Shamīram, built over the ruins of an ancient Fire-temple, on a mountain two leagues distant from the city, and Mustawfī adds a long account of the town, its markets and its shrines, giving the names of the various city canals derived from the Harī-rūd (L. 216p). The river of Herāt rose in the mountains of Ghūr; after passing Herāt it watered the Fūshanj district, and thence flowed north to join the Sarakhs river (the modern Tejend-āb). Asfuzār, now generally called Sabzivār of Afghanistān, is a town at some distance to the south of Herāt, and is mentioned in the Itineraries (Route xvii, and Ibn Hawkal, p. 305). Fūshanj [6], or Būshanj according to the same authorities, must be identical with the present city of Ghūriyān lying west of Herāt near the Harī-rūd; and under the name Fūshanj it sustained a siege by Timur, as described in the *Zafar Nāmah* (i, 312), but I have been unable to discover when its present name of Ghūriyān first came into use.<sup>2</sup> According to Mustawfī, Kusūy, or Kusri [7] and

<sup>1</sup> *Kilāt*, which has come to be the name of more than one important fortress-town of western Asia, is a word that apparently came into use at the close of the middle ages, and is presumably a Persianized form of the Arabic *Kal'ah* (spelt with dotted *k*), meaning 'a castle.' It is worth noting that the name Kilāt does not occur in Yākūt or, I believe, in any of the earlier Arab geographers.

<sup>2</sup> The name Fūshanj, or Būshanj, has apparently gone completely out of use; on the other hand, I can find no mention of this Ghūriyān in any Eastern author. Yākūt (iii, 821, 824) mentions Ghūrah, which he says is commonly pronounced Ghūrah, and is a village near the gate of the city of Herāt; and there was the village of Ghūriyān near Marv. Neither of these, however, can



Kharkird [8], the former given in the Itinerary of Ibn Rustah (p. 172) and the latter by Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 334), were the chief towns of its district.

Mālān [9], apparently the town now called Shahr-i-Naw, judging by the distances in the Arab Itineraries, was the chief town of the Bākharz district, which lay further to the north along the left bank of the Harī-rūd, and the district of Bādghīs lies some distance to the eastward, away from the right bank of the Harī-rūd, being due north of Herāt. Mustawfi mentions Kārizah, where Hakīm Barḳa'i had lived who founded the city of Nakhshab in Transoxiana, also as its chief town Gūnābād (or Kūh Ghanābād) [10]; and he names various other places both here and in the Itinerary (Route xviii) which cannot now be identified (viz., Buzurgtarīn, Lab, Jād, Ukāīrūn, Kālūn, and Dihistān), for the whole region of Bādghīs has now relapsed to the desert, though numerous ruined sites are to be met with near the river beds. The town of Jām [11], famous for its shrine, was by the Arab geographers known as Buzjān, later Pūchkān, and is marked on our maps. Chast (cf. Ibn Baṭūṭah, iii, 457) would appear to have been a town near Herāt, but its exact position is unknown, and the spelling of the name is uncertain. Khwāf [12], with its district, lies to the south of Bākharz, and Mustawfi gives its chief towns as Salām [13], Sanjān [14], and Zūzan [15], all of which will be found on the map, in the present Khwāf district. Zāvah is, as we learn from Ibn Baṭūṭah (iii, 79), the town now known as Turbat-i-Ḥaydari, so called from the saint buried there, and Zāvah was the name of the surrounding region, also known as Bīshak.

The great districts lying to the north-east of Khurāsān (in what is now Afghanistan) are only very briefly referred to by Mustawfi. Ghūr, the mountainous country lying between the head-waters of the Herāt river and the Helmund, has already been referred to in the previous chapter when

be the modern town of Ghūriyān, the name of which recalls the province of Ghūr, where the Ghūrid Sultans held sway in the latter half of the twelfth century A.D.

speaking of *Firūzkūh*.<sup>1</sup> Balkh is mentioned as being in ruins, and *Bāmiyān* was in a like condition, *Changhīz Khān* having ordered its utter destruction to avenge the death of a grandson who was killed during the siege, at the time of the Mongol invasion. *Ṭukhārīstān* is the country along the southern bank of the upper waters of the Oxus, and *Panjhīr* is the name of the silver-mine at the eastern source of the *Kābul* river. *Jūzjān* is the district westward of Balkh, of which *Shaburkān* and *Fāryāb* were the chief towns. The first-mentioned still exists, and the position of *Fāryāb*, which is described by *Ibn Ḥawḳal* (p. 321) and *Yākūt* (iii, 840, 888), is fixed by the information given in the *Itinerary* (Route xii). *Khutlān* is the country lying north of the upper waters of the Oxus, *Saminjān* lay south-east of Balkh, and *Ṭāyikān* is the place which still exists of this name in the extreme east of the province of *Ṭukhārīstān*, being sometimes, in error, written *Ṭālikān*. The name *Ṭālikān*, however, is more properly given to the city of the *Jūzjān* district, the name of which has now disappeared from the map, but which, according to the *Itinerary* (Routes xii and xiia), lay three marches distant from *Marv-ar-Rūd* (*Bālā Murghāb*) and a little off the high road going from that city to Balkh. This *Ṭālikān* is described by *Ibn Ḥawḳal* (p. 321), *Ya'qūbī* (p. 287), and *Yākūt* (iii, 491); it was an important town, and its ruins are probably to be identified with the mounds of brick near *Chachaktu*, which have been recently examined by Colonel Yate.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this passage, in place of *Ghūr*, many MSS. of the *Nuzhat* read *Gharj*, and some have *Gharjīstān*. The name of this region has nothing to do with Georgia, or *Gurjīstān*, to the north of Armenia, described by *Mustawfī* in Chapter 6; for *Gharjīstān* took its name from the ancient kings of northern Afghanistan, called by the Arabs *Gharj-ash-Shār*. According to *Yākūt* (iii, 786, 789, 823) *Gharjīstān*, often confounded with *Ghūrīstān*, and spelt indifferently *Gharshīstān* or *Gharīstān*, was the country along the upper waters of the *Murghāb*, to the eastward of *Marv-ar-rūd*. Its limits were *Ghūr* on the one side and *Herāt* on the other, with *Ghaznah* to the south-east. The sites of the many towns in *Ghūr* and *Gharjīstān*, mentioned by the Arab geographers, are completely unknown.

<sup>2</sup> See *Northern Afghanistan*, by C. E. Yate (1888), p. 157. The *Chachaktu* ruins are forty-five miles as the crow flies from *Bālā Murghāb*, which last, I consider, undoubtedly represents *Marv-ar-Rūd*, and this distance may be counted as the equivalent of three days' march in the hill country. *Kal'ah*

Ḳavādiyān still exists to the north-east of Tirmid, which last is on the Oxus, and Ḳālif is lower down the great river; also on its right bank. Mustawfī gives a long account of Marv-i-Shābihjān, or Great Marv, on the Murghāb river. This river, as he says (L. 214*u*), had originally been called the Marv-āb or Marv river, but was in his days generally known as the Āb-i-Razīk. The *Jihān Numā* (p. 328) has Zarbak, and the MSS. give Āb-i-Rūbak or Zarīk, as in Yāqūt (ii, 777), with other variants. It flowed down to Great Marv from Marv-ar-Rūd, or Little Marv, which is now represented by the place called Bālā Murghāb, as stated in a previous note. Abivard [16] still exists, on the desert border north of Kalāt-i-Nādirī. Khavārūn [17], now Khabarān, and Khavārdān, its dependency, lie between Kalāt-i-Nādirī and Sarakhs, which last stands on the lower reach of the Herūt river after it has received on its left bank the stream coming down from Tūs and Mashhad. Lastly, Māraz (Yādaz and Yāzar, with other readings, are given in the MSS.) appears to be unknown, and the same remark applies to Ḳal'ah Māy, of which the MSS. also give many diverse readings (Bāy, Nār, etc.).

As stated at the beginning of the chapter, the province of Khurāsān in the middle ages extended as far north and east as the bank of the Oxus, which was held to divide the lands of Īrān from Tūrān; and when Mustawfī wrote there appears good evidence for the belief that the Oxus was pouring

Wali and Takht-i-Khātūn, one or other of which is put forward by Colonel Yate (op. cit., pp. 194-6 and 211) as a possible site for Tālikān, being each of them only some twenty-seven miles distant from Bālā Murghāb, are both of them too near to suit the case. As regards the site of the city of Fāryāb, this may well have been at the modern Khayrābād, where there is an ancient fort and mounds with ruins, as described by Colonel Yate (op. cit., Map of the North-West Frontier of Afghanistan, and p. 233), who narrates some local legends of past times that have clustered round this site. The name of this Fāryāb of Jūzjān is also spelt Firyāb by Yāqūt (iii, 888), and it must not be confounded either with Fārāb, otherwise written Bārāb (now called Otrār), on the Jaxartes, or with Firabr, sometimes written Firab, on the Oxus, at the ferry of Chārjūy. It will be noticed also that there were during the Middle Ages three Tālikāns, viz., Tālikān, or Tāyikān, the town of Tūkhāristān which still exists; next, Tālikān of Jūzjān aforesaid; lastly, the Tālikān *district* in Persian Īrāk, to the south-west of Ḳazvin, which has been noticed in Chapter 2.

its waters into the Caspian Sea, and not, except for an insignificant part, into the Aral, as is now the case.<sup>1</sup>

In Appendix IV Mustawfī gives a description of the Jayhūn or Amūyah (L. 213/, with which compare the Turkish translation in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 360), as the Arabs and Persians named the Oxus. The river had two sources, one in Tibet, the other in the Badakhshān mountains; and along its upper course five great streams flowed in before it took up the waters of the Wakhshāb (L. 220*d*) in the district of Ṣaghāniyan, where stood Tirmid over against Balkh. Flowing on through the desert, the Oxus next came to the Narrows, mentioned also in the Itinerary (Route xix), known as Tang-i-Dahūn-i-Shir—‘the passage of the Lion’s Mouth’—near Buḵshah, of the district of Hazārasp, where the precipitous banks are hardly a hundred *gez* (yards) across. This is the gorge which is now known as Deveh Boyun—‘the Camel’s Neck’—and according to Mustawfī the stream here passes underground for a couple of leagues completely hidden from sight. From Hazārasp down to the Aral Sea numerous canals are led off, some ending in the desert, some discharging their water into the Aral; but the main stream, Mustawfī says, after passing Old Urganj, turns down by the ‘Aḳabah-i-Ḥalam (or Salam), which in Turki is called Kurlādi (or Kurlāvah), where the rushing of its waters can be heard two leagues away, and, thence flowing on for a distance of six days’ march, ultimately finds its exit in the Caspian Sea (Baḥr Khazar) at Khalkhāl, a fishing station.

When describing the Caspian (L. 225*d*), Mustawfī speaks of the Island of Ābaskūn, and he says “this island is now

<sup>1</sup> Professor de Goeje has written a most learned and interesting work on this subject (*Das alte Bett des Oxus*, Leyden, 1875), in which he seeks to discredit the statements of the Persian geographers, and in conclusion gives it as his opinion that the Oxus during all the middle ages (as at the present time) flowed into the Aral. I shall not presume to enter the lists against Professor de Goeje; I only quote in the following passages the authorities on the other side. But I may mention that Sir Henry Rawlinson, who had studied the question as a practical geographer, and knew as well the writings of the Persian and Arab authors, was always of a contrary opinion, holding that from the earlier years of the thirteenth century A.D. down to about the year 1575 the Oxus had continued to have its chief outflow into the Caspian, *not* into the Aral.

sunk under the water, because the Oxus, which formerly had flowed into the Eastern Lake (the Aral) lying over against the lands of Gog and Magog, since the time of the Mughāl invasion has changed its course, and now flows out to the Caspian; and hence, this latter sea having no outlet, the dry land (of the Ābaskūn island) has now become submerged by the rising level of the waters." Now, in regard to this alleged change in the Oxus bed at the epoch of the Mongol invasion, we have the contemporary evidence of Ibn-al-Athīr (xii, 257) that Changhīz Khān in 617 (A.D. 1220) sent his armies against Khwārizm, when, after a siege of five months, Old Urganj was stormed, and the Oxus dykes which protected the city having been cut, the whole country was laid under water. The overflow appears to have drained off to the south-west, following a line of depression to the Caspian; for there is the evidence of Yūkūt (iv, 670), a contemporary of these events, who describes Manķishlāgh as a strongly fortified castle "standing on the shore of the Sea of Ṭabaristān (i.e. the Caspian), into which the Jayhūn now flows."

In the work of Hāfiẓ Abrū, composed in 820 (1417 A.D.) under the patronage of Shāhrūkh, the son and successor of Timur—and Hāfiẓ Abrū must himself have been well acquainted with the geography of these countries from personal knowledge—we find the statement that the Jayhūn, "which of old flowed into the Lake of Khwārizm (the Aral), having made itself a new bed, now flows out to the Baḥr-Khazar (the Caspian) at Kurlāvud or Kurlāvū, otherwise called Akṛanchah, by which cause the Aral Sea has come to disappear" (British Museum Manuscript, Or. 1,577, *folio* 32*b*). And again, in the paragraph on the Aral Sea in the same MS. (*folio* 27*b*), he says that, while formerly the Jayhūn had flowed into the Aral, "now, namely in the year 820, this sea no more exists, for the Jayhūn has made a new bed to itself, and flows out into the Caspian."

Finally, to complete the evidence on the double shifting of the Oxus bed, we have the account by Abu-l-Ghāzī, a native prince of the Urganj region, who states that some

thirty years before A.H. 1014, the date of his birth, which places the change in about A.D. 1575, the Oxus made itself again a new channel, and turning off at Ẹarā-Uighūr-Tūkāy below Khūst-Minārahī, made its way to Tūk Kal'ahī and thence out directly to the Aral Sea, thus changing the lands between Urganj and the Caspian into a desert for lack of water. And in another passage he describes how in former times, namely, among the events of the years from 1520 to 1530 A.D., all the way from Urganj, by Pishgūh and Ẹarā Kīchit, to Uighurchah and Abūlkhān on the Caspian, there were cultivated fields and vineyards along what was still, when he wrote, the but half dessicated bed of the Oxus. (French translation by Baron Desmaisons of the *History of the Mongols and the Tartars* by Abu-l-Ghāzī Khān, vol. i, pp. 221 and 312, and Text in vol. ii, pp. 207 and 291, St. Petersburg, 1871.)

In regard to Khwārizm, now generally called Khīvah, which is the Delta land of the Oxus, it will be found that among the Itineraries Mustawfī gives two (Routes xiv and xix) leading across the desert to Urganj, one from Farāvah (Kizil Arvāt), the other from Great Marv. Khwārizm was at no time counted as of Īrān, but, as noticed in the Table of Contents of the *Nuzhat*, a short section is devoted to this Province in Part IV of the Third Book, treating of Foreign Lands, which may be summarized in the following concluding paragraph. Unfortunately, the names of towns as given in the MSS. and in the Lithographed text (L. 234g) are extremely corrupt, and, indeed, do not serve to clear up the many queries in regard to the names of stages in the two Routes which lead to Urganj.

Hamd-Allah begins by stating that at the time when he wrote the capital city of the country was Urganj, which, however, was then more generally known as Khwārizm (properly the name of the whole province). Formerly, he adds, the capital city was Fīl, but the government was shifted first to Manṣūrah and then to Urganj. The city of Kāth had in former times (he says) been known as Jurjāniyah (this, however, is undoubtedly a mistake), and

he then names a number of the more important towns, among which are Hazārasp, Darghān, and Madmīniyah, with many others whose names it is impossible to identify, finally Khīvah, a small provincial town (or *Kaṣbah*) which had recently been the abode of the Shaykh Najm-ad-Dīn Kubrī. We thus learn that already in the fourteenth century A.D. Khīvah was rising to importance; it is merely mentioned in the list of towns by the earlier Arab geographers, but Yākūt, writing a century before the time of Hamd-Allah, has devoted a short article to it (ii, 512), spelling the name Khīvaḵ, adding that the common people of Khwārizm then already called it Khīvah. Under the spelling Khīvaḵ the town and its governor are mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd, and this was the scene of one of the early adventures in the life of Timur, who at a later period caused its walls to be carefully rebuilt (*Zafar Nāmah*, i, 62, 449).

### Chapter 18. *Māzandarān.*

Contents: Jurjān city, 190*h*; Astarābād, 190*p*; Āmul, 190*q*; Dihistān, 190*t*; Rustamdār, 190*u*; Rūghad, 190*v*; Sāri, 190*x*; Kabūd Jāmāh, 190*y*; Nīm-Murdān, 190*z*.

The mountainous region lying along the south coast of the Caspian, towards the east, was called Ṭabaristān in the early middle ages, *Ṭabar* having the signification of 'mountain' in the local dialect, whence Ṭabaristān would have had the meaning of 'the Mountain Country.' This name, however, about the time of the Mongol conquest, gave place to that of Māzandarān; the new province being taken to include Jurjān on the east, which formerly had been reckoned as a separate district and not included in the older Ṭabaristān. Māzandarān is divided by Mustawfī into seven districts, namely, Jurjān, Mūrustāk (with variants Murdistān, etc.; the *Jihān Numā*, p. 339, has Bard-Mūrustāk), Astarābād, Āmul with Rustamdār, Dihistān, Rūghad, and Siyāh Rastān (other variants of this last in the MSS. being Wastān, Sitān,

Sāristān, and in the *Jihān Numā*, Sūstān). Of these seven, the positions of three, namely, of Mūrūstāk, of Rūghad, and of Siyāh Rastān, are entirely unknown, and these names are not apparently mentioned by any other geographer.

In his Appendix on the Rivers Mustawfi notes that the district of Jurjān was watered by two rivers, namely, by the lower part of the Āb-i-Atrak (L. 212*a*), which had its springs near Khabūshān and in the famous plain of Nisā (now Darrah-Gaz) of Khurāsān; and next by the Jurjān river (L. 213*u*), on which stood the city of Jurjān; both the Jurjān river and the Atrak flowing out to the Caspian within the Jurjān territory. Jurjān City in the time of Mustawfi was a ruin, Astarābād being the capital of the district. Dihistān lay on the northern frontier; the ruins of it are probably those now known as Mashhad-i-Miṣriyān, and it was the outpost against the Turks and Kurds on the road to Khwārizm.

Āmul has always been the capital of Ṭabaristān, and Rustamdār is the district already noticed in Chapter 2 as lying along the bank of the Shāhrūd which as Rūdbār was counted as of Persian 'Irāk. According to the *Nuzhat Rūghad* (Rū'ad in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 341) was a medium-sized town, being also the name of the surrounding district; the site is unknown, but it lay presumably in Ṭabaristān, among the mountains overlooking the Caspian. The city of Sārī is still a flourishing place, and its district was that which Mustawfi names Kabūd Jāmāh, while Nīm-Murdān (neither name being mentioned by the Arab geographers, though both are copied into the *Jihān Numā*, p. 341) was a populous island or peninsula, with Shahrābād for chief town, at the south-eastern angle of the Caspian, presumably now represented by the tongue of land forming the northern limit of Astarābād Bay. As of Ṭabaristān, Mustawfi mentions the mountains called Kūh Ṭāriḳ and Kūh Haram, or Hajam (L. 205*r*, 207*a*), where marvellous caves and wondrous sights were to be seen, but the position of neither mountain is given, and these names do not appear on our present maps.



*Chapter 19. Kūmis.*

Contents: Khuvār, 191*d*; Dāmghān, 191*e*; Samnān, 191*h*; Bustām and Āhūvān, 191*j*; Girdkūh, 191*l*; Fīrūzkūh, 191*m*; Damāvand, 191*n*; Firrim, 191*p*; Khurkān, 191*r*.

Kūmis was the name of the province lying along the desert border south of the great mountains of Ṭabaristān; most of the towns mentioned by Mustawfi still are found, but now included in Khurāsān, for as a separate province Kūmis no longer exists, and the name even is gone out of use. In the vicinity of Dāmghān was a mountain called Kūh-i-Zar—'Gold Mountain'—where mines of the precious metal were worked (L. 204*g*), and Dāmghān itself is still an important city. Khuvār [1] is the town now called Aradūn, but the district round is known under the old name, and Khuvār or Aradūn, called Khuvār of Ray or Maḥallah-i-Bāgh, is on the great eastern high road from Ray into Khurāsān (see Route ix). Samnān [2] stands half-way between Khuvār and Dāmghān, Bustām (Bistām or Baṣṭām) lying further to the eastward of this last, while Āhūvān [3] is a Rubāṭ or Guardhouse between Dāmghān and Samnān.

The fortress of Girdkūh [4], called also Diz-i-Gumbadhān—'the Domed Fort'—lay in the mountains three leagues distant from Dāmghān, and Maṣṣūrābād was in its vicinity. The celebrated stronghold of Fīrūzkūh [5] stands at the head-waters of the stream flowing down to Khuvār; due west of it lies the town of Damāvand [6], which Mustawfi says was originally called Pashyān, the town lying a considerable distance to the south of the famous Damāvand mountain of Ṭabaristān. The position of Firrim, mentioned also by Yāqūt (iii, 890) and other Arab geographers, has not been identified. Khurkān was a town of the district of Bustām, lying four leagues distant therefrom, on the road towards Astarābād, as is mentioned by Yāqūt (ii, 424) and Ḳazvīnī (ii, 243).

Chapter 20. *Gilān.*

Contents: Iṣfahbad, 191*o*; Tūlim, 191*x*; Tamījān, 191*y*; Rasht, 191*z*; Shaft, 192*a*; Fūmin, 192*b*; Kūjasfahān, 192*c*; Kawtam, 192*d*; Kurjuyān, 192*e*; Lāhijān, 192*f*; Ta'sar, 192*h*.

Gilān, or the Jilānūt Province, was backed by the mountains of Daylam, and lay on the shore of the Caspian at the mouth of the river Safid-rūd. Iṣfahbad, or Ispahbid, as is well known, was the name given to the semi-independent governors of this province under the Sassanian kings, and the Ispahbids continued to rule as princes under the early Caliphs; the city of Ispahbudān is mentioned by Yāḩūt (i, 298) as lying two miles from the sea-shore, but apparently no trace of it now remains. In the time of Mustawfi, however, Iṣfahbad was a medium-sized town surrounded by a district with nearly a hundred villages, and its revenues amounted to 29,000 dīnārs, or about £7,000. Tūlim is now the name of a district lying west of Rasht, the town of Tūlim [1] having presumably gone to ruin, both this and the town of Tamījān (or Taymjān) having disappeared from the map. Mustawfi is one of the first authorities to mention Rasht,<sup>1</sup> now the chief town of Gilān, and it was already in his day famous for its silk stuffs.

The town of Shaft [2] no longer exists, but the district of this name lies south of Rasht, and to the westward of it is the Fūmin [3] district, with the town of Fūmin as its chief place. Of Kūjasfahān (Kujastān is the spelling given in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 344, with Kujkān, Kūjfahān, and other

<sup>1</sup> In the *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum* (vols. iii, 52, 53, and ix, 282), a series of copper coins is described, bearing the numbers 107, 107*a*, 107*b*, 108, which are dated 595 A.H. and 598 A.H., and attributed to the mint-city of Rasht. These coins bear the name and titles of Sulaymān II, the Saljūḩ Sultān of Rūm, and if the reading *Rasht* be accepted, would go to prove that the Saljūḩs of Rūm exercised sovereign rights in Gilān, and that Rasht was already an important city at the close of the sixth century A.H. The reading, however, does not appear, on examination of the coins, to be tenable; and the facts as known to us from history are decidedly against Rasht having ever belonged to Sulaymān II of Rūm.

readings in the MSS.), originally built by Ardashīr Bābgān and named Sahmish, nothing is now known; and the same has to be said of the town of Karjuyān, given also as Kirjān or Kaḥyān in the MSS., but not named elsewhere. Kawtam [4], on the sea-shore, a good port near the mouth of the Šafid-rūd, though mentioned by Yūkūt (iv, 316), is apparently now lost, being represented by the modern Kūhdam district lying eastward of Shaft. Lāhijān [5] still exists, and by Mustawfi is held to be the capital of Gīlān, being famous for its fruit gardens; but for 'Ta'sar, the last place mentioned in the list (with variants in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 344, of Bishīshāh, also Nīsar, Nīr, and Tastar in the MSS.), I am unable to offer any identification.

## APPENDIX I. THE ITINERARIES.

For convenience of reference the Itineraries given consecutively by Mustawfi are in the following pages divided up into thirty-three Routes. Many of these are identical with the routes given by Ibn Khurdādbih and Kudāmah in their Road-books, and are found in other of the mediæval Arab geographers. Some of the routes not given by the Arabs are found copied from Mustawfi into the pages of the *Jihān Numā* of Ḥājji Khalfah. The distances are given in Farsakhs, each equivalent to a league, or one hour's march.

*Route I.* — Sultānīyah to Hamadān and Kanguvār (L. 192*w*).— Sultānīyah 5 farsakhs to Bajshīr village, thence 4 to the Ribāṭ of Atabeg Muḥammad ibn Ildagiz, thence 4 to Karkahar village in the Hamadān province, thence 6 to Šājī village of Hamadān, thence 5 to Walaj village, thence 6 to the city of Hamadān, thence by the pass over mount Arvand (Elvend) in 7 farsakhs to Asadābād, and thence 6 to Kanguvār, the first village in Kurdistān.

As far as Hamadān these stages are not given in any of the Arab Itineraries — Sultānīyah, as already said, only having been built and made the capital of the Īlkhāns in the reign of Uljaytū—and most of the names of places mentioned in the list are uncertain.<sup>1</sup> Thus, Dīh Bajshīr is given in the various MSS. as Lajshīr, Valāshjird, and Dīh Bakshih (*Dīh* being the Persian for 'village,' omitted or added, indifferently), and this may be Bijtayn, a village at the right distance south of Sultānīyah; the various readings given above would then be due merely to confusion in the placing of diacritical points. For Dīh Karkahar some MSS. have Karkaharand, possibly for the present Kabatrung.

<sup>1</sup> Much of this country is described in *Notes of a Journey from Kazveen to Hamadan*, by J. D. Rees (Madras, 1885), but the names given by Mustawfi do not occur.

Variants of *Sāji* are *Ṣāhibī*, *Masāh-jīn*, and *Ṣājū*. Muḥammad ibn Ildagiz, the founder of the *Ribāṭ* mentioned above, was Atabeg of Adharbayjān and virtual ruler of 'Irāk from 568 to 581 (1172 to 1185). The word *Ribāṭ* (pronounced also *Rubāṭ* and *Rabāṭ*), which occurs frequently in the names of post-stations, means literally 'a tying-up place' and came to signify a hospice, or guardhouse, notably on the frontier.

*Route II.*—Kanguvār to Ḥulwān (L. 192s).—Kanguvār in 5 farsakhs to Ṣihnāh village, thence 4 to Jamjamāl City, thence in 6 farsakhs—the statue of the horse Shabdīz lying to the right of the road, with the portraits of King Khusrāw and Queen Shīrīn at a place where two springs gush out that turn two mills—to Kirmānshāhān, thence 6 to Khushkarīsh, thence 5 to Jākāvān, thence 6 to the villages of Kirind and Khūshān, thence by the Pass of Ṭāḡ-i-Kizā in 8 farsakhs to Ḥulwān city, the first place in Arabian 'Irāk; but by the Gīl wa Gīlān road this last stage is easier, though one farsakh longer.

The stages from Hamadān going south-west, but given the reverse way, are part of the great eastern high road leading from Baghdād to Marv, found in all the Arab Itineraries. Khushkarīsh is the reading in Ibn Khurdābih (p. 19); the *Nushat* MSS. give various readings, as Ḥakārmish, Chakārīsh, etc., and no place of this name now exists. The next place, Jākāvān, is not identical with any stage mentioned by the Arab Itineraries, and many variants are given, e.g., Dīh Ḥisākavān, Khafārkān, Ḥafākadān, Janākān, and Khiyārkavān. No village of Khūshān (or Ḥarshān as a variant) is to be found on the map anywhere near Kirind; but the road down by Gīl wa Gīlān, and the Ṭāḡ-i-Kizā pass, are mentioned (L. 216n) as the place where one of the affluents of the Nahrawān takes its rise (see above, Chapter 1).

*Route III.*—Ḥulwān to Baghdād and Najaf (L. 193c).—Ḥulwān in 5 farsakhs to Ḳaṣr Shīrīn, thence 5 to Khāniḳīn city, thence 5 to Rubāṭ Jalūlā built by Malik-Shāh the Saljūḡ, thence 5

to Hārūniyah, thence—with Shahrabān lying 2 farsakhs distant to the right of the road—in 7 farsakhs to Ba'kūbā city, and thence 8 to Baghdād. From Baghdād it is 2 farsakhs to Šarsar village, thence 7 to Farāshah, thence in 7 farsakhs—the city of Bābil lying on the Euphrates half a league away on the right hand—to the Nil Canal, then 2 farsakhs to the city of Ḥillah, thence—passing the place where Nimrod threw Abraham into the Fire at Kūthā Rabbā, lying one league to the left of the road—after 7 farsakhs comes the city of Kūfah, thence 2 farsakhs distant lies the Mashhad (Place of Martyrdom) of 'Alī, the Commander of the Faithful, at Najaf on the desert border.

Most of the places mentioned in this and the next two Routes are given on my Map for Ibn Serapion. The Rubāt (Guardhouse) of Jalūlā, a place famous in Abbasid history, is probably the present Caravanserai of Kizil Rubāt. Dih Farāshah, nine leagues south of Baghdād, is not given by any other authority; other variants in the MSS. are Kārājah, Khawāshah, and Būdiyah-Farrash—'the Carpet-spreader's plain'—but the readings are most uncertain. The text of the *Nushat* after this gives the Routes beyond Najaf for the pilgrims crossing Arabia to Mecca and Medina, but these are here omitted, as belonging to countries outside the limits of Īrān, with which alone the present paper deals.

*Route IV.*—Baghdād to Baṣrah, and thence by sea to the Island of Kays (L. 195g).—Baghdād 5 farsakhs to Madāin, thence 10 to Dayr-al-Ākūl, thence 7 to Jabbul, thence 10 to Faṣ-ṣ-Ṣilḥ, thence 9 to Wāsiṭ, thence 10 to Nahrabān, thence 8 to Fārūth, thence 5 to Dayr-al-'Ummāl, thence 7 to Hawānit; thence passing by the canal called the Shaṭṭ-al-Mā to the Swamps, and on through the Nahr-al-Asad, after 30 farsakhs is the beginning of the Blind Tigris estuary, by which and the Nahr Ma'kīl after 10 farsakhs is Baṣrah. From Baṣrah it is 12 farsakhs to 'Abbādān, whence 2 by fresh water to the open sea, thence 50 leagues to Khārik Island, thence 80 leagues to Al-Ān Island, thence 7 to Abrūn Island, thence 8 to the island of Chīn or Khayn, which is uninhabited, and thence 8 to the emporium of Kays Island. X

The towns on this and the next two Routes will be found on the Ibn Serapion Map. For the islands in the Persian Gulf, see above, Chapter 12; a part of this Route is given in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 456.

*Route V.*—Baghdād to Raḥbah (L. 195v).—Baghdād 3 farsakhs to Tall-‘Aḳarkūf, which is a hillock so high that it can be seen from the desert eleven leagues away; thence 8 farsakhs to the city of Anbār; thence by the way across the Samawāt desert you may reach Damascus direct in ten days, it being 100 leagues distant; or from Anbār you go to Raḥbah (on the Euphrates), which last is 70 leagues from Baghdād.

*Route VI.*—Baghdād to Mosul (L. 195x).—Baghdād 4 farsakhs to Baradān, thence 5 to ‘Ukbarah, thence 3 to Bāḥamshā, thence 7 to Kādisiyah, thence 3 to Sāmarrah, thence 2 to Karkh, thence 7 to Jabultā, thence 5 to Sudaḳāniyah, thence 5 to Bārimmā, thence 5 to the Bridge over the Lesser Zāb, a tributary of the Tigris, thence 12 to Hadīthah, thence 7 to Banī Ṭām‘ān, and finally 14 farsakhs to Mawṣil (Mosul).

The name of the place called Bāḥamshā or Bājamshā by Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 93), a dozen leagues north of Baghdād, is uncertain; the *Nuzhat* MSS. give the name variously as Jamī‘ā, Ḥamsāsah, and Ḥamyā, with other variations. Banī Ṭām‘ān, the last stage before Mosul, is also uncertain; variants are Banī Ṭahān in the MSS., and in Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 93) Ṭamyān, Ṭahmān, etc., are given.

*Route VII.*—Kanguvār to Isfahān (L. 195q).—Kanguvār 5 farsakhs to Bīdastān, thence 3 to Nihāvand city, thence 4 to Farāmūrz village, thence 4 to the city of Burūjird. Beyond Burūjird the road to Sābūrkhwāst turns off to the right hand, while going left from Burūjird it is 4 farsakhs to Ḥasanābād, thence 8 to Miyān-Rūdān, thence 3 to Minār, thence 5 to the city of Karaj. From Karaj it is 4 farsakhs to Dūnsūn, thence 5 to Āsan: here the more direct road to Isfahān turns off to the right, while going left from Āsan it is 6 farsakhs to Sangān, thence 6 to Jūy-Murgh-Kuhtar, thence 7 to Ashḳurān, thence 7 to Tīrān, thence 6 to Jūy-i-Kushk, and finally 4 leagues to Isfahān.

The road going eastward from Kanguvār to Isfahān, in the Arab Itineraries, follows a different route to the one given by Mustawfī, though both pass by Karaj of Abu Dulaf, the position of which has been noticed in Chapter 2. The MSS. give a few variants; the name of the village of Farāmurz beyond Nihāvand is written *Qarāḳirḳ* in some copies, and Ḥasanābād appears as Junābād. *Miyān-Rūdān*—‘Between Streams’—is on the upper waters of the eastern tributary of the Burūjird river, south-east of this town and south-west of Karaj of Abu Dulaf. From Karaj to Isfahān many of the places named on the map are not found, and the variants in the MSS. are *Āsan* or *Māsan*; for *Sangān*, *Sitakān* or *Sakwīn*. *Ashḳurān* or *Ashghurān* is marked on the map and given by Yāḳūt (i, 281) as *Ashkūrān*; he also mentions (i, 446) *Bāb Kushk* as one of the great quarters at the gate of Isfahān, and though this name has now disappeared, *Tīrān* is a village marked on the map.

*Route VIII.*—*Sultāniyah* to *Sūmghān* (L. 196*d*).—*Sultāniyah* in 5 farsakhs to the village of *Qūhūd*, which the Mughāls call *Sā'in Kal'ah*, thence 4 to the city of *Abhar*, thence 4 to *Fārisjīn*, thence—with the city of *Qazvīn* lying 4 leagues distant on the left hand—in 6 farsakhs to *Sūmghān*, which the Mughāls call *Aḳ Khwājah*. Beyond this place the way divides; to the right one road turns off, going to *Sagzābād* in 5 farsakhs (see *Route XXVI*), while the main road towards *Khurāsān* continues onward, as given in the next *Route*.

The name *Qūhūd* is now not known, *Sā'in Kal'ah* having taken its place; the three next places will all be found on the map. *Sūmghān*, however, is wanting, and apparently is not mentioned by any other geographer; also the reading of the name is uncertain. *Hamd - Allah*, as will have been seen in Chapter 15, gives it as the uppermost limit of the Great Desert, and in the various MSS. the name appears as *Sumkān*, *Suwikān*, *Sūsḳān* or *Sūshḳān*, *Sūbikān*, *Siyūti'ān*, and *Sūs'an*. It evidently was a place of some importance, and its position is fixed by the distances given between it, *Fārisjīn*, *Qazvīn*, and *Sagzābād* or *Sagziābād*.



*Route IX.*—Sūmghān to Bustām (L. 196*d*).—Sūmghān in 5 farsakhs to the village of Māmarah, thence 8 to Dahand, thence 5 to Sunḡurābād, thence 5 to Dīh Khātūn, thence 5 to the Place of Martyrdom (Mashhad) of the Imām-zādah ‘Abd-al-‘Azīm, thence 3 to the city of Ray, thence 6 to Varāmīn, thence 6 to the Rubāṭ of Khumārtakīn, thence 6 to Khuvār of Ray, which is called Maḡallah-i-Bāgh (the Garden-Place), thence 6 to Dīh Namak (Salt Village), thence 6 to Rās-al-Kulb (Dog’s Head), thence 6 to Dīh Surkh (Red Village), thence 4 to Samnān, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Āhuvān, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Hurmuz, also known as Jarm-Jūy (Hot-stream), thence 6 to Dāmghān, thence 6 to Ḥaddādah, otherwise known as Mihmān-dūst (Guest-friend). From this place one road branches to the right, going direct to Nīshāpūr by Sabzivār; to the left is the high road which passes through Jājarm, and from Ḥaddādah by this it is 7 farsakhs to the city of Bustām.

The name Māmarah, one stage out from Sūmghān, is uncertain; the MSS. give various readings, as Yāharah, Mārbin, Hāmryn, and Hāmarah. Also the next stage is variously given as Dīhand, Dīh Pahand, or Sahand, and this name occurs again as one among the villages of Ḳazvīn mentioned in Chapter 2 (L. 146*r*). The remaining stations are for the most part those of the Arab itineraries, and will be found on the map; Rās-al-Kalb (Dog’s Head), which Yāḡūt (ii, 733) refers to as a *Ḳal’ah* or Castle, is possibly identical with the present Lasjird, as already stated in the Introduction. Places named in the next two Routes have already been noticed in Chapters 17 and 19, or else will be found on our present maps; these being also for the most part identical with the stages given in the Arab itineraries.

*Route X.*—Bustām to Nīshāpūr (L. 196*n*).—From the city of Bustām it is 7 farsakhs to Maghaz, thence 7 to Sulṭānīyah village (or Dīh-i-Sulṭān), thence 3 to Rubāṭ Savanj, and thence 6 to Jājarm. From Jājarm it is 8 farsakhs to the village of Āzadvār, the birthplace of Khwājah Shams-ad-Dīn Muḡammad Sāhib Dīvān, thence 4 to Khūdāshāh, thence 3 to Baḡrābād village, the abode of Shaykh Sa’d-ad-Dīn of Ḥamāh, thence 5 to Barzamābād, thence 4 to Tūdah (or Nūdah), thence

8 to Takān-kūh, thence 6 to Rubāṭ Būzinagān at the village of Ahmadābād, and thence 4 farsakhs to Nishāpūr.

*Route XI.*—Nishāpūr to Sarakhs and Marv-ar-Rūd (L. 196*u*).—Nishāpūr 7 farsakhs to Dīh Bād, whence the road to Herāt branches to the right hand (Route XV); and from Dīh Bād, turning left, it is 5 leagues to Khākistar village, thence 3 to Rubāṭ Sangbast, thence 6 to Rubāṭ Māhī, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Tūrān (or Nūrān); thence in 7 farsakhs, across two passes each of half a league, you go to Rubāṭ Ābgīnah, thence 6 to Sarakhs, thence 9 to Rubāṭ Ja'fari, thence 7 to Mīl 'Omari, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Abu Nu'aym, thence 5 farsakhs across the desert sands with no water to Āb-Shūr, thence 2 to Diz Hind, and thence 5 to the city of Marv-ar-Rūd.

*Route XII.*—Marv-ar-Rūd to Balkh and the Oxus (L. 197*a*).—Marv-ar-Rūd 7 farsakhs to Rubāṭ-i-Sultān, thence 5 to the village of Karajābād (or Kūchābad), thence in 7 farsakhs—the city of Tālikān lying 6 leagues distant on the right hand of the road—to Āb-i-Garm (Hot-Spring), thence 5 to Kabūtarkhānah; thence 7 to Masjid Rāzān; thence in 7 farsakhs—the city of Fāryāb lying two leagues distant on the right of the road—to Astānah, thence 6 to Rubāṭ Ka'b, thence 9 farsakhs across a waterless plain to the city of Shaburkān. Thence it is 2 farsakhs to the village of Sulbarān, thence 9 to Rubāṭ 'Alawī (the Alid Guardhouse), thence 1 to Dastagird, thence 5 to the village of Pārah at the Bridge of Jamūkhiyān, and thence 2 to Balkh. From the city of Balkh it is 6 farsakhs to Siyāh-kūh (the Black Hills), and thence in 6 farsakhs you come to the Oxus river over against Tirmid.

*Route XIII.*—In the British Museum MS. (Add. 16,736) is the following duplication, in part, of the preceding route:—Marv-ar-Rūd 5 farsakhs to Araskan, thence 7 to Asrāb, thence 6 to Ganjābad, thence 6 to Tālikān, thence 5 to Kashhān, thence 5 to Arghūn in the district of Jūzjān, thence 5 to Kaṣr Hūt; thence 5 to Fāryāb, thence 9 to Kā', thence 9 to Shaburkān, thence 6 to Šidrah, thence 5 to Dastagird, thence 4 to 'Awd, and thence it is 3 farsakhs to Balkh.

The first of these two routes is given, in part, in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 329), and between them they fix within narrow limits the positions of Tālikān and Fāryāb, two

important towns of the Jūzjān District, the names of which have apparently entirely disappeared from the map. Their probable sites have been discussed in Chapter 17.

*Route XIII.*—Bustām to Farāvah (L. 197j).—From Bustām by the pass called Nardibān-Pāyah it is 7 farsakhs to Dih Ganj, thence 6 to the village of Milābād, thence 5 to Mūsā-ābād village, thence 5 to the city of Jurjān. From Jurjān there are two roads to the northern frontier—one direct by the waterless desert, the other by Dihistān. By this last from Jurjān it is 9 farsakhs to Bīstān, thence 7 to the village of Muḥammadābād, thence 7 to Dihistān; from here it is 7 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Kursī (or Gazbīni), thence 9 to Rubāṭ Abu-l-‘Abbās, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Ibn Ṭāhir, and thence 7 farsakhs to the city of Farāvah.

The MSS. give many variants both in this and the next route for the intermediate stages, which in the desert were mostly Rubāṭs or Guardhouses. For the part north of Jurjān city Sir H. C. Rawlinson may be consulted in the *Proceedings of the Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 1879 (i, 170), and for Bīstān, which the MSS. give variously as Bāraz, Sārar, Sār-rūd, and Sard-rūd, he adopts the reading Siuābar-rūd, “a name restored to agree with the modern Sunibar.” Farāvah, a place frequently mentioned by the Arab geographers, is probably to be identified with the modern Kizil Arvāt, this last being a corruption for Kizil-Rubāṭ, ‘the Red Guardhouse.’

*Route XIV.*—Farāvah to Urganj (L. 197l).—From the city of Farāvah it is 8 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Khisht-Pukhtah, thence 8 to Khūshāb, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Ṭaghmāj, thence 7 to Karvān-gāh, thence 9 to Rubāṭ Sarhang, thence 7 to Minārah-gāh, thence 8 to Sāl-Balī, thence 7 to Mushk Mabnā, thence 9 to Rubāṭ Maryam, thence 8 to the town of New Khwārizm, thence 6 to New Ḥalam (or Khulm), and thence 4 farsakhs to Urganj, the capital of Khwārizm.

The stages of this desert road to Urganj, the city which the Arabs knew as Jurjāniyah, are given with a variety of readings in the MSS. The variants, however, are of no

great importance, since the stages merely represent halting-places, not towns or villages. Khwārizm-i-Naw — New Khwārizm—must be the capital of the province built to replace the town destroyed by the Mongols, and the ruins of *New* Khwārizm are now known as *Old* Urganj—Kuhnah Urganj; but what the place which Mustawfi calls Halam or Khulm-i-Naw may represent—lying between the newer and the old capital of his time—it is difficult to determine. For Khwārizm in general see the concluding paragraphs of Chapter 17; also below, Route XIX.

*Route XV.*—Nishāpūr to Herāt (L. 197r).—Nishāpūr in 7 farsakhs to Dīh-Bād, where the road to Sarakhs already given (Route XI) goes off to the left, thence 7 to Rubāṭ-Badi'ī, thence 7 to Farhādān village, thence 7 to Sa'idābād village, thence 5 to Dīh Khusrū, thence 7 to the city of Būjkān (or Būzjān), thence 6 to Gulābād, thence 10 to Kūshk Manšūr, thence 6 to the city of Fūshanj (or Būshanj), and thence 8 farsakhs to Herāt.

Dīh-Bād—'the windy village'—is the place named in the Arab itineraries *Ḳaṣr-ar-Rih*, which has a similar signification; it is now called Dizbād-Pāyin. As noticed in Chapter 17, the city of Būjkān, or Būzjān, also written in two words Pūch-Kān, is by the Arab geographers called Zām or Jām, and is now known as Turbat-i-Shaykh-Jām, from the tomb of the Saint buried here. Fūshanj or Būshanj (see also Chapter 17) is the modern Ghūriyān, but when the town took this last name appears to be unknown.

*Route XVI.*—Nishāpūr to Turshīz (L. 197x).—From Nishāpūr going through a populous, well-watered country where are 80 villages, it is 5 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Sih Dīh (Guardhouse of the Three Villages), thence 4 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Nūr-Khān, thence 3 to Chāh Siyāh (Black Pit), thence 5 to the village of Dāyah, thence 4 to Dīh Murd, and thence 7 farsakhs to Turshīz. From Turshīz it is 25 farsakhs to Tūn, and 36 to Kāyin, and likewise 36 to Būjkān.

Of the route here given none of the villages appear now to exist; their names are not found in the Arab itineraries;

and further, the readings of the *Nuzhat* are uncertain. In the MSS. the first stage out is often given as Rubāt Sayyidi Ghar. Dīh Dāyah appears as Dānah, Dār, or Vānah; Dīh Murd as Nimr, Nimrud, 'Umrad, or Bamrū, also as Dīh Ghar.

The following Route is not found in the Bombay Lithographed Text; it is practically identical with the road described by Muḩaddasī (p. 350) and the other Arab geographers.

*Route XVII.*—Herāt to Zaranj, given in the British Museum MS. (Add. 16,736).—Herāt one march to Jamān, thence the same to Kūh-i-Siyāh (Black Hills), thence the same to Ḳanāt Sarāy, thence the same to Khāstān (or Jāstān), which is Asfuzār, thence the same to Kūstān, thence the same to Darah, thence the same to the city of Farah, thence the same to Pūl-i-Rūd-i-Farah (Bridge over the Farah river), thence the same to Sirishk, thence the same to Kanjar, thence the same to Bast (or Bastak), thence the same to Juvayn, thence the same to Bastar, thence in 4 farsakhs you come to and cross the Hirmand river to Karkūyah, and thence in 3 farsakhs to (Zaranj, capital of) Sīstān.

*Route XVIII.*—Herāt to Marv-ar-Rūd and on to the city of Marv (L. 198a).—Herāt in 5 farsakhs to Hangāmābād, thence 5 to Bādghīs, thence 5 to Tūn, thence 5 to Murghzār Darrah, thence 8 to Baghchī Shūr, thence 5 to Ustrūd (or Lūs-rūd), thence 4 farsakhs to Marv-ar-Rūd. From Marv-ar-Rūd it is 5 farsakhs to Ḳaṣr Aḩnaf ibn Ḳays, thence 4 to Khawrāt (Khawrzān or Khūrāb), thence 6 to Asadābād (or Astarābād), thence 7 to Ḳarīnayn, thence 5 to Yaḩyā-ābād, thence 7 to Mahdī ābād, thence 6 to Fāz, and thence 7 farsakhs to the city of Marv.

The first part of this route, from Herāt to Marv-ar-Rūd (Bālā Murghāb), for the most part is identical with that given in the Arab itineraries; it lies through a country where now there are no towns and hardly any villages, though in the middle ages Bādghīs was a populous province.

From Marv-ar-Rūd to Great Marv the route is that of the Arab geographers, and follows the course of the river Murghāb; Ḳaṣr Aḩnaf is the present Marūchak or Marv-i-Kuchik (Little Marv), having been called after one of the

palaces of Aḥnaf, son of Ḳays, the Arab leader in the first Moslem conquest of Khurāsān. The stages named are not those now found on the map.

*Route XI/X.*—Marv to Urganj (L. 198s).—Marv in 5 farsakhs to Dih Saḡrī, thence 2 to Dih Ābdān Ganj, thence 8 to Rubāṭ Sūrān, thence 5 to Chāh Khāk (Dry Well), thence 7 to Chāh Sāchī, thence 7 to Chāh Hārūn; thence in 7 farsakhs—of which 2,000 yards are across the Moving Sands—to Rubāṭ-i-Naw-Shāgīrd, thence 7 to Sangābād, thence 6 to Rubāṭ Tāhīrī, thence 5 to Rubāṭ Būdīuuh, thence crossing the frontier of Khwārizm in 7 leagues to the city of Jaḡarband, thence 9 to Darghān, a city of Khwārizm, thence 5 to the Rubāṭ of Dahān-i-Shīr (the Guardhouse of the Lion's Mouth), where precipitous rocks form the Narrows of the Oxus, thence 4 to Sadūr (or Sandbūr), thence 10 to Hazārāsp, thence 9 to Dih-Zardūk, thence 7 to Rakhushmithan, thence 6 to Andarā-biyān (Andarabnān or Ūzārmand), thence 2 to the city of Nuzvār (Ruzvand or Sūrāvān), and thence 6 farsakhs to the city of Urganj, the capital of Khwārizm.

This route is also given in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 457), but the first portion across the desert is not found in any of the earlier Arab geographers. The names of the stages here are many of them uncertain, being differently written in the various MSS. of the *Nuzhat*. Cultivation began at Rubāṭ Tāhīrī, or Tāhīriyah, on the Oxus, the first place in Khwārizm. This is mentioned by the Arab geographers, who name many of the stages given after this in their notices of the Khwārizm Province. The Narrows of the Camel's Neck, or Lion's Mouth, have been referred to in Chapter 17; but the names of the stages between Hazārāsp and Urganj are most uncertain, and should be compared with those given by Muḡaddasī (p. 344).

*Route XX.*—Sultāniyah to Bājarvān (L. 198n).—Sultāniyah in 5 farsakhs to Zanjan, thence 7 to the village of Tūt (or Būb) Suvārī, thence 7 to the city of Kāghadh Kunān, thence by the Pass of Burūlaz on the river Safid-rūd in 6 farsakhs to the village of Sanjīdah and Khalkhāl, thence 6 to the

village of Mālīsh (Bālīsh, or Tālīsh), thence 6 to the city of Ardabīl, thence 8 to Rubāṭ Arshad, thence 8 to the village of Varanḵ, to the east of which, one farsakh distant, lies Barzand, formerly a city, now a mere village, and thence 4 farsakhs to Bājarvān, formerly a city, now only a village.

This route, which is found in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 389), gives the position of Kāghadh Kunān or Khūnaj, already mentioned in Chapter 2, which was a mint city. The name of the pass near the Safīd-rūd is doubtful; it is variously given in the MSS. as Girīvah-i-Pardahlīs, Buzurgtar, or Barūlah, and the Sanjīdah is also a river mentioned among the affluents flowing into the Safīd-rūd. North of Ardabīl the ruins of Barzand exist, and this fixes the position of Bājarvān; for Arshad some MSS. give Arand; and for Varanḵ the variants are Varlaḵ, Dharīḵ, Dartak, with other readings.

Many of the places on this route, with those to be mentioned in Route xxi, have been already referred to in the notes to Chapter 4 on Mūghān.

*Route XXI.*—Bājarvān to Maḥmūdābād (L. 198s).—Bājarvān in 8 farsakhs to Pilsuvār, thence 6 to Jūy-i-naw (New Canal), and thence 6 to Maḥmūdābād Gāvbārī.

*Route XXII.*—Bājarvān to Tiflīs (L. 198u).—Bājarvān in 7 farsakhs to the village of 'Alī Beg, thence 6 to the village of Bakrābād, thence 2 to the bank of the river Aras, which is the frontier of Karābāgh, thence 3 to the village of Har, thence 5 to Ghark, thence 4 to the village of Labandān, thence 3 to Bāzārchūk, thence 4 to the city of Bardā', thence 1 to the city of Jūzbīḵ, thence 4 to Dih Isfahānī, thence 5 to Khānḵāh Shutur, thence 5 to Ganjah city, thence 2 to the city of Shamkūr, now in ruins, thence 3 to Yūrt-Shādāk-Bān, thence 6 to the Aḳtavān river, thence 5 to Yām, and thence 4 farsakhs to the city of Tiflīs.

On this road to Tiflīs, Bardā' and Ganjah exist, also Shamkūr, but for the intermediate stages the MSS. give a variety of readings. Ghark is given as Fark, Kūra', Qirḵ, or Tūrak. Labandān appears as Dih Shuturān, or Katrān;

and the next stage may be read Darhūk. For Jūzbīk we get Jūzinak, Khūrank, or Hūrish; and the name Shādāk is given as Sadmiyān or Sārīkiyān; finally, Yām may be read Bām or Mādam.

*Route XXIII.*—Bājarvān to Tabriz (L. 199*b*).—Bājarvān in 4 farsakhs to Barzand (as aforesaid), thence 6 to Rubāt-i-Ayvān built by the Vazīr Khwājah Tāj-ad-Dīn ‘Alī Shāh Tabrizī, thence 8 to the village of Bahlatān (Baylakān, Dīh Sultān, or Sahlakān) known as the village of the Shāhib Dīrān, thence in 8 farsakhs passing the Rubāt (Guardhouse) built by the Vazīr ‘Alī Shāh aforesaid standing in the valley called Darrah Farūjāy to the city of Ahar, thence in 6 farsakhs by the Pass of Gūlchah-Nīl (the Blue Lake), in which stand two Guardhouses—one the Rubāt built by Khwājah Sa’d-ad-Dīn, the other by Amīr Nizām-ad-Dīn Yahyā of Sāvah—to the village of Armīnān (or Arminiyan), thence passing another Rubāt built by the Vazīr ‘Alī Shāh aforesaid at the stage of Yaldūk (or Baldūk) it is 8 farsakhs to Tabriz.

The name of the valley called Farūjāy is in some MSS. given as Kirdjāy or Karūjāy; Gūlchah Nīl appears as Kūkjay or Kavilah Nīl, while Armīnān or Arminiyan has the variants Aranmiyān or Larsān. Apparently none of these places are marked on our maps, but this route is copied into the *Jihān Numā* (p. 389), and in Appendix III, already quoted in the remarks on Chapter 3, Mustawfī (L. 217*y*) mentions many of these places when describing the course of the Ahar river.

The next four Routes, giving the Itineraries from Sultāniyah westward to Sīvās, and from Sūmghān (already mentioned in Route viii) southward *viā* Isfahān to Shīrāz, need no comment, for the places mentioned will for the most part be found on the map, and have already been dealt with in Chapters 2, 3, 7, and 12.

*Route XXIV.*—Sultāniyah to Tabriz (L. 199*b*).—Sultāniyah in 5 farsakhs to Zanjan, thence 6 to Rubāt Nikbāy built by the Vazīr Khwājah Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn Amir Muḥammad Rashīdī, and another Rubāt has been built here by his brother Khwājah



Jalāl-ad-Dīn, thence in 7 farsakhs to Sarcham, thence by a pass in 6 farsakhs to Miṣānīj, thence 6 to the village of Turkṁān Kandī called Dayr Kharrān, which formerly was a city, thence 4 to the village of Shankulābād, thence 4 to the city of Awjān, thence 4 by a pass to Sa'ūdābād (or Sa'dābād), and thence in 4 farsakhs to the city of Tabriz.

*Route XXV.*—Tabriz to Sīvās (L. 199*n*).—Tabriz 11 farsakhs to Marand, thence 12 to Khuvī (Khoi), thence 6 to Shakhmābād, thence 5 to Shahr-i-Naw, thence 3 to Band-Māhī, thence 8 to Arjīsh, thence 8 to Malāsijird, thence 10 to Khanūs, thence 5 to the Pass of Ak Aftan, thence 5 to Basīn, thence 6 to Arzan-ar-Rūm, thence 10 to Asjah of the district of Vasirjān, thence 10 to Khumān Kubūh at the foot of the pass, thence 4 to Arzanjān, thence 5 to the village of Khwājah Aḥmad, thence 7 to Arzanjak, thence 8 to Ak-Shahr, thence 5 to Akarsūk, thence 8 to Zārah, thence 10 to Rubāṭ Khwājah Aḥmad, and thence it is 4 farsakhs to Sīvās.

*Route XXVI.*—Sūmghān called Āk-Khwājah to Isfahān (L. 199*v*).—From Sūmghān it is 5 farsakhs to Sagzābād—this last being 24 farsakhs or 5 stages distant from Sulṭānīyah (see Route VIII)—and from Sagzābād it is 6 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Hājib, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Dawānīk, thence 5 to the city of Sāvah, thence 4 to Āvah, thence 6 to Kum, thence 12 to Kāshān, thence 8 to the village of Kuhrūd, thence 6 to the village of Wāsiṭah, thence it is 6 farsakhs to the Rubāṭ Murchah Khūrd, and 6 on to the village of Sīn—or else from Wāsiṭah it is 12 farsakhs direct to Sīn by the Miṣānī Road, but on this way are no habitations—and from the village of Sīn it is 4 farsakhs to Isfahān.

*Route XXVII.*—Isfahān to Shīrāz (L. 200*e*).—Isfahān in 3 farsakhs to the village of Isfahānak, thence 5 to the village of Mihiyār on the frontier of Fārs, thence 6 to Kūmishah, thence 5 to the village of Rūdkān, thence 7 to Yazdikhwāst, from here the winter road down to Band-i-'Aqdū turns off to the left, while the (shorter, western, or) summer road is to the right, by Kūshk-i-Zard, namely, from Yazdikhwāst in 8 farsakhs to Dīh Girdū, thence 7 to Kūshk-i-Zard aforesaid, thence 8 by the Girivah-i-Mādar wa Dukhtar (Mother and Daughter Pass) to the Rubāṭ of Ṣalāh-ad-Dīn in the plain called Dasht Rūn, thence 3 to the Guardhouse at

the Bridge called Pūl-i-Shahriyār, thence 7 farsakhs through the very stony Pass of Māyin to the town of Māyin, thence in 4 farsakhs—passing by the Castles of Iṣṭakhr and Shikastah which overhang the road on the left hand—to Pūl-i-Naw (New Bridge), thence 5 to Dih Gurg (Wolf village), and thence in 5 farsakhs to the city of Shīrāz.

*Route XXVIII.*—Shīrāz to the Island of Kays and by sea to India (L. 2007).—Shīrāz 5 farsakhs to Shahrak village, thence 5 to the city of Kavār, thence by the Girivah-i-Zanjirān (Pass of Chains), leaving Firūzābād 7 farsakhs distant away to the right hand, in 5 farsakhs to Rubāt Chamankān, thence 5 to Maymanah, thence 6 to the beginning of the Simkān District, thence 6 to the end of this District, thence in 7 farsakhs to Kārzīn by the Pass of Sang-i-Safīd (the White Stone), which is one farsakh short of Kārzīn, thence it is 5 farsakhs to Lāghir, thence 6 to the Fāryāb District, thence 6 to the city of Şaj, thence 5 to Āb-Anbār-i-Kinār, thence 5 to Haram, thence in 6 farsakhs by many steep passes to the village of Dārūk, thence 6 to Māhān, thence in 6 farsakhs by the Pass of Lardak to Huzū on the sea-shore. From here you cross the water in 4 leagues to the city of Kays (on the island of that name). From this island it is 18 farsakhs to the Island of Abarkāfān, thence 7 to the Island of Urmūs, thence in 70 leagues you come to the Island of Bār on the frontier of Sind, and thence it is 80 to Daybul, which lies 2 leagues from the mouth of the Mihrān (Indus), which is the great river of Sind.

From Shīrāz to Kārzīn and Lāghar this road may be followed on the map, and the 'Pass of Chains' north of Firūzābād is still so named; but south of this, to Huzū on the coast (given by the Arab geographers as the port for Kays Island and city) the route is found in no other authority, and has not, I believe, been followed by any traveller in modern times. Variants are numerous in the MSS. The name of the city called Şaj may be Şah, Hāj, or Dah, with many other combinations of the diacritical points as Khabakh and Hanaj, etc. Haram appears as Sīram or Marmaz. Dārūk may be Dārzak, Ūrak, or Dāvrak; finally, Māhān is given as Hāmān or Māyān. From Kays

Island the sea road to India is that in continuation of Route IV already given, and in regard to the names of the islands in the Persian Gulf these have all been discussed in Chapter 12.

*Route XXIX.*—Shīrāz to Kāzirūn (L. 200x).—Shīrāz in 5 farsakhs to the Wall of Hājji Kawwām, thence 8 to Dasht Arzin, thence 6 to the Rubāṭ (Guardhouse) at the head of the Mālān Pass, which is very steep, thence by the Hūshang Pass, also very steep, in 3 farsakhs to Kāzirūn.

The two passes named before Kāzirūn are those now known as the Kūtal-i-Pīr-i-Zan and the Kūtal-i-Dukhtar—the Passes of the Old Woman and of the Maiden: for the other places see Chapter 12.

*Route XXX.*—Shīrāz to Hurmūz (L. 200s).—Shīrāz in 12 farsakhs to Sarvistān, thence 8 to the city of Fasā, thence 6 to Timaristān village, thence 8 to Dārkan (or Zārkan), from which, turning to the left in 4 farsakhs, you reach the city of Ig, the capital of Shabānkārah. To the right from Dārkan it is 10 farsakhs to Dārābgird, thence 3 to the village of Khayr, thence 6 to Shabankān, thence 3 to Rustāk, and thence 3 farsakhs to Burk (Forg); from here it is 6 farsakhs to Tāshkū, thence 6 to Tārum, thence to the frontier of the Lār Province at Janād (or Chinār) it is 4 farsakhs, thence 8 to Chāh Chil, thence 8 to Tūsar on the sea-coast, whence by water it is 4 leagues to the Island of Hurmūz.

The places along the route have been for the most part noticed in Chapters 12 and 13. Tāshkū beyond Forg is mentioned by Dupré (*Voyages en Perse*, ii, 489); the MSS. give Tashlū, Dāshlū, Shalū, with many other readings; but Tāshkū is doubtless the true version. Tūsar, the port on the Persian Gulf, whence the crossing is made to Hurmūz Island, is given as Dūsar, Lawhar, and Luvilir in the various MSS. It must occupy, more or less, the position of the harbour named Shahrū by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 170) and Sūrū or Sārū by Ibn Ḥawqal (p. 226), being identical with the later Gombroon, which is written Gumrū by Hājji Khalfah (*Jihān Numā*, p. 260); and this last is generally held to have been

a corruption of Gumruk, the Turkish name for 'Custom-house' (from the Greek *κουμερκί*), which came into common use all over the East.

*Route XXXI.*—Shīrāz to Kirmān (L. 201<sup>f</sup>).—Shīrāz in 8 farsakhs to Dāriyān, thence 8 to Kharramah, thence 4 to Khūlanjān, thence 6 to Kand (or Kid), thence 6 to Khayrah, thence 5 to Chāh 'Uqbah, thence 8 to Bulangān, thence 8 to Chāhik, thence 8 to Chāhik City, thence 8 to Sarūshak, thence 8 to Shahr-i-Bābak, thence 8 to Kūshk Nu'mān, thence 4 to Abān, thence 10 to the city of Sīrjān, from which it is 20 farsakhs to Kirmān (city).

This is the road by the southern side of Bakhtigān Lake to the towns of Little and Great Šāhik (or Chāhik) given by the Arab itineraries. The present ruins at Dīh Chāh and Chāh Khushk probably represent these places. Great Šāhik was a city of some importance in the middle ages, where the road from Persepolis to Kirmān—along the northern shore of Lake Bakhtigān by Abādah City—joined the route here given coming from Shīrāz. For the reading Shahr Chāhik (Great Šāhik of the Arabs) nearly all of the MSS. give Shahr Atābeg, which possibly may have been the name of this place in the fourteenth century, though apparently not so given by any other authority.

The next route needs no commentary; it follows the nomenclature of the Arab geographers, and most of the places named will be found on the map, and have been noticed in Chapter 12.

*Route XXXII.*—Shīrāz to Yazd (L. 201<sup>k</sup>).—Shīrāz in 5 farsakhs to the village of Zargān, thence 3 to the dam called Band-i-Amīr on the Kur river, thence 3 to the village of Kinārah in the districts of Ḥafrak and Marv Dasht, thence 3 to Fārūk, thence 3 to Kamīn, thence 4 to Mashhad-i-Mādar-i-Sulaymān—'Shrine of the Mother of Solomon,' namely, the Tomb of Cyrus—thence 6 to Rubāt Mashk, thence 12 to the city of Abarkūh, thence 13 to Dīh Shīr (Lion village), thence 6 to Dīh Jawz (Nut village), thence 4 to Kal'at-i-Majūs (Magian's Castle), thence in 5 farsakhs to the city of Kathah or Yazd, standing in its Jūmah (District, otherwise Hūmah).

*Route XXXIII.*—Shīrāz to Arrajān and Bustānak (L. 201*p*).—Shīrāz in 5 farsakhs to Juvaym, thence 5 to Khallār, thence 5 to Kharrārāh, thence 4 to Kuvār, which is of the district of Tīr Murdān, thence 3 to Karkān, thence 3 to Nawbanjān, thence 4 to Khābadān, thence 6 to Kishish, thence 5 to Gumbadh Mallaghān, thence 4 to Chawhah, thence 4 to Jīsh, thence 6 to Furzuk, thence 4 to Arrajān, and 4 farsakhs on to Bustānak, which is the frontier of Fārs and Khuzistān.

These stages for the most part are given in the Arab itineraries, and in the reverse order this is the route followed by Timur when on his march from Shustar to Kāl'ah Safid and Shīrāz, as given in the *Zafar Nāmah* (i, 600). Juvaym (marked Goyun on the map) and Khullār exist, also the ruins of Nawbanjān or Nawbandajān, which last name the MSS. more often give as Būhanjān or Lāhijān, and in a variety of other mistaken readings. This Nawbanjān, a celebrated city throughout the middle ages, lies some twenty-five miles due north of the ruins of Shāpūr, and was close to the famous valley of Sha'b Bavvān. Our maps now show another Nawbanjān, a village about twenty-five miles distant due west of Shāpūr; this place is not mentioned by the mediæval geographers, and the *city* of Nawbanjān or Nawbandajān must not be confounded with this modern village. Khabādān, or Khwāndān, was on the river of that name already mentioned in Chapter 12, and Gumbadh Mallaghān is doubtless the modern Du Gumbadān (Two Domes), near which are some extensive ruins. The remaining stages to Arrajān are difficult to identify, and the MSS. give a variety of readings. Kishish appears as Kish or Mālish, Chawhah as Šāfah or Šā'ighah, Jazrak as Khawrak or Marzaq; but the same uncertainty is found in the corresponding Arab itineraries of Ibn Ḥawkal and Muḥaddasi, and as none of these names are now found on the map it is impossible to get to any certainty in the matter.

In conclusion, I have two corrections of some importance to add, which have come to hand since the earlier portions of this paper were published. In the April number (p. 249) it

is stated that "the Urmīyah Lake appears to have been known to Hamd-Allah under the name of Khanjast," and it is added that the spelling of this name is uncertain. Professor P. Horn, of Strassburg, has since written to me that the true reading is *Chīchast* (differing from Khanjast only by a variation of the diacritical points), this being a modification of the name given to the Urmīyah Lake in the Avesta where the ancient spelling is *Chaēchasta*. Hence in the *Shāh Nāmāh* (Turner-Macan, p. 1860, l. 4, and p. 1927, l. 6 from below) *Chīchast* should be read for 'Khanjast.'

The second correction is for the July number (p. 530), in the matter of the true site of Sīrjān, the earlier of the two capitals of the Kirmān province. In his recent work *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, which is reviewed on another page, Major P. Molesworth Sykes describes (p. 431) the ruins of a fortress and town called Ḳal'ah-i-Sang, covering a hill-top, which is some 5 miles to the eastward of Sa'idābād on the road to Bāft. These ruins are also known as Ḳal'ah-i-Bayzā, 'the White Castle,' and appear beyond reasonable doubt to be those of Sīrjān, the fortress of which was destroyed by the orders of Tīmūr (see J.R.A.S., April, 1901, p. 284). The position of Ḳal'ah-i-Sang is, it is true, rather more to the westward and further from Kirmān city than the distances given in the Arab geographers would seem to warrant, but this is probably explicable by the very varying estimate given to the *Marḥalah*, or Day's March, on which we have to rely when, unfortunately, the stages in farsakhs are not given.

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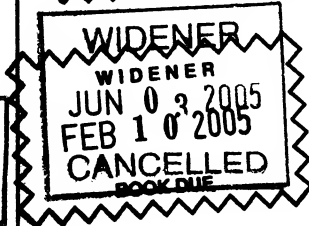
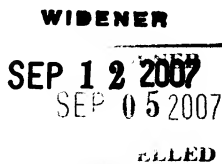
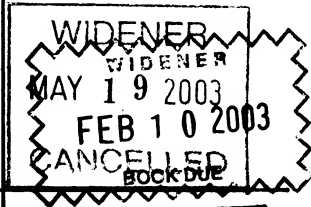
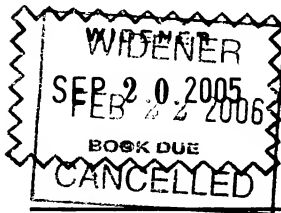


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